BYZANTINA METABYZANTINA

A JOURNAL OF BYZANTINE AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES

Edited by N. G. MAVRIS

Dedicated to the Belgian School of Byzantinology
Represented by
HENRI GREGOIRE and ERNEST HONIGMANN

Volume I (1946)

PART I

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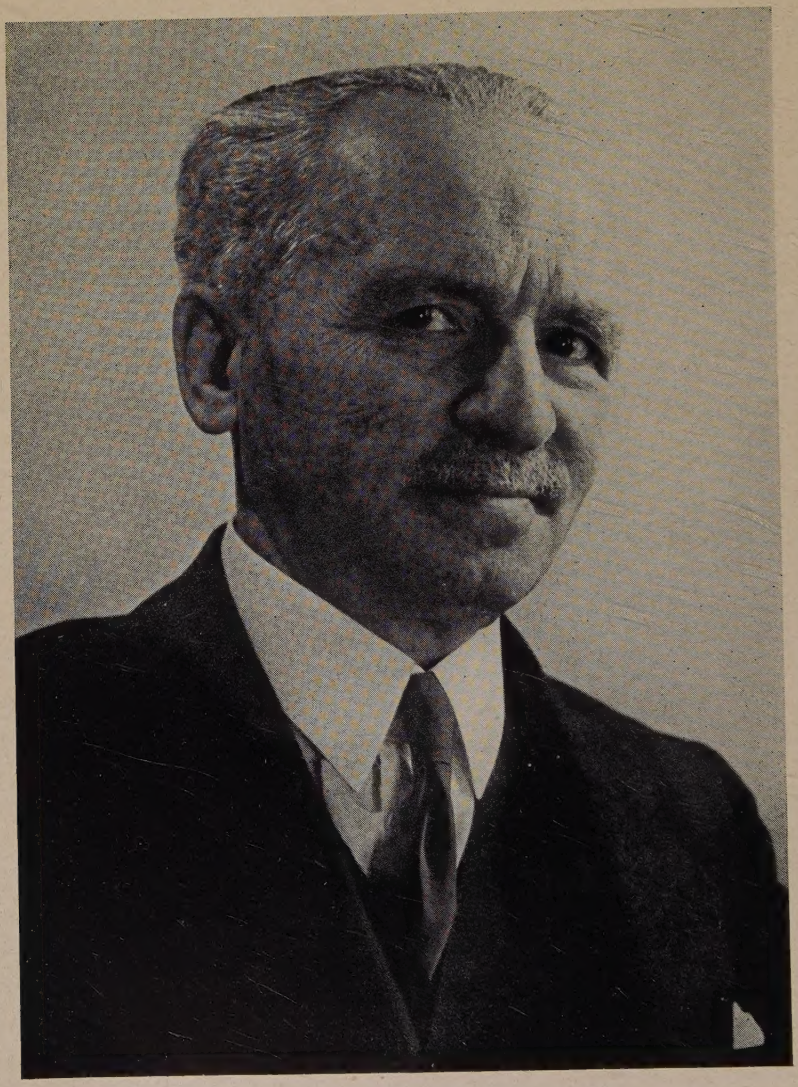

HENRI GREGOIRE

ERNEST HONIGMANN

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1946

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By N. G. MAVRIS

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TO

HENRI GREGOIRE & ERNEST HONIGMANN

WHO, IN THE DARKNESS OF EUROPEAN CHAOS
CONFIDENTLY FORESEEING THE DAWN OF LIBERTY,
TRANSPLANTED TO AMERICA IN 1941—1946
THE BELGIAN SCHOOL OF BYZANTINOLOGY
AND WHO, BY THEIR ERUDITION AND ENERGY,
HAVE STIMULATED IN AMERICA THE STUDY
OF MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN GREECE,
THIS, THE FIRST VOLUME OF
BYZANTINA-METABYZANTINA
IS DEDICATED
WITH APPRECIATION AND AFFECTION
BY THEIR FRIENDS AND STUDENTS
IN THE OLD AND NEW WORLD

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INTRODUCTION

We feel that the founding of Byzantina-Metabyzantina, *a journal devoted exclusively to Byzantine and Modern Greek studies, is amply justified by the serious research and interest of several generations of American scholars working in Byzantine and post-Byzantine studies. Nearly a century ago the picturesque Harvard College professor, Evangelinus Apostolides-Sophocles, occupying a special chair in Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek, produced his useful* Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. *In this century several able Byzantinists have continued Sophocles' example at Harvard, while recently the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, located in the national capital, has been incorporated into the University as a research foundation supporting specialists in Byzantine studies, particularly art and archaeology. The activity of the eminent Russian scholar, Professor A. A. Vasiliev, since his establishment at Wisconsin in 1925 and most recently at Dumbarton Oaks, has been a great stimulus to Byzantine studies in America, which have taken on a broader and more systematic character under his inspiration. Without attempting an exhaustive enumeration we may mention the Catholic University of America, Princeton and Michigan as still other schools where notable contributions in the Byzantine field have been made.*

Scholarly interest in America in the language, literature and history of Modern Greece can also be traced back about a century to Harvard College, to Edward Everett and Cornelius Conway Felton as well as to Sophocles. Aristides Phoutrides, Carl Darling Buck, Carroll N. Brown, Nicholas S. Kaltchas and others have in more recent times helped to give neohellenic studies a scientific character. In a valuable paper on "Modern Greek Studies and Materials in the United States," [1] *Dr. Peter W. Topping points out that "there has been a steady trickle of scholarly American works relating to modern Hellas which it is hoped will increase in volume now that Byzantine and Balkan studies are well established in America, and scholars of Greek extraction pursuing historical research are becoming more numerous."*

The entire field of Byzantine and Modern Greek studies was given a great impetus late in 1940 with the arrival in America of Professor Henri Grégoire, the distinguished Belgian Byzantinist and Hellenist. Like the fall of Byzantinum in 1453, the fall of France and other European countries had caused a great movement

[1] Byzantion, *vol. XV (1940-41; American series: I), pp. 414-42.*

of scholars westward. Byzantion, *the International Journal of Byzantine Studies, migrated to America along with its indefatigable editor, and volume XV — the first of the American series — appeared in 1941 under the auspices of the Byzantine Institute of Boston. Within the framework of the newly-created Franco-Belgian university, the École Libre des Hautes Études of New York City, Professor Grégoire reconstituted his Institut de Philologie d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves of Brussels University. His outstanding merits in this respect have been stressed, in beautiful words, by no less than the great leader of Free France, General de Gaulle. We take pride in reproducing this historic page.*

The three volumes of the American series of Byzantion *have thus been a special outlet for studies in the Byzantine and — occasionally — the neohellenic fields. The imminent return of Professor Grégoire and his Journal to Belgium creates a gap similar to that existing in this country up to World War II, when there was no periodical dedicated exclusively to Byzantine studies. The need, therefore, for the filling, as far as possible, of this gap, combined with the desire to provide the opportunity to students of post-Byzantine and Modern Greek studies to have an organ wherein to present the results of their research, has motivated the launching of* Byzantina-Metabyzantina, *of which the present collection of papers constitutes Part I, Volume I. It is an added hope that the new periodical will provide encouragement and to some degree opportunity for publication to the Byzantinists and neohellenists of Greece, so impoverished that they have not yet found it possible to resume publishing a single one of the many flourishing pre-war journals in their field.*

The editor would like to thank all the distinguished scholars who have been generous enough to honor this issue with their contributions, and also Mr. Charles Henry Coster, who has been of valuable assistance in editorial matters and in the reading of proof. He considers it also his duty to thank Mr. Nicholas Hatzivasilakis, owner and manager of the Cosmos Greek-American Printing Company, to whose painstaking and expert personal attention the speedy and successful publication of the present volume is due.

N. G. Mavris

LE GÉNÉRAL DE GAULLE

MARLY, le 4 Mai 1946.

Monsieur le Président,

L'important volume de RENAISSANCE que vous avez eu la délicate pensée de m'adresser m'est bien parvenu.

Cet ouvrage témoigne magnifiquement en faveur de notre ECOLE LIBRE DES HAUTES ETUDES DE NEW-YORK pour l'existence de laquelle vous luttez avec tant d'ardeur. C'est un bel effort, et qui doit être poursuivi, que le vôtre.

Puisse notre culture occidentale telle que l'expriment les écrivains de langue française trouver longtemps encore en AMERIQUE d'aussi ardents, d'aussi efficaces défenseurs!

Croyez, Monsieur le Président, à mes sentiments cordiaux et dévoués.

Ch. de Gaulle

Monsieur Henri GREGOIRE
Président de l'Ecole Libre
des Hautes Etudes de New-York
66 Fifth Avenue
NEW-YORK
——— 11

LA "PREHISTOIRE" D'HENRI GREGOIRE

A M. Charles Grégoire, Consul-général de Grèce à Bruxelles.

Il est trop tôt pour raconter une vie dont le principal intéressé et tous ses amis espèrent bien qu'elle connaîtra encore plus d'un épisode historique et plus d'une période active et féconde. Je dois me borner à quelques notes rapides qui serviront de commentaire à la page de *Who's Who?* reproduite et complétée ci-après.

Henri Grégoire est de souche wallonne en ligne paternelle, française en ligne maternelle. Un homonyme complet de l'érudit[1] est nommé par une épitaphe de 1572, encastrée dans le mur du presbytère de Tihange-lez-Huy (province de Liége): *Cy gist Henri Grégoire de Tihange honneste homme* ... Les Dufrénoy célèbres — et non moins honnêtes — sont au moins deux: le membre de l'Institut de France, l'un des auteurs de la carte géologique de la France, bisaïeul maternel d'Henri Grégoire, et la mère du géologue, Adélaïde Dufrénoy, la poétesse, née à Nantes, jadis adulée pour quelques pièces lyriques, chantée par Béranger (*Veille, ma lampe, veille encore — Je lis les vers de Dufrénoy*) et morte, encore fameuse, en 1824. Le fils de "la Sapho française," comme l'appellent encore quelques dictionnaires biographiques, l'illustre géologue, avait épousé la fille de M. Jay, qui vécut plusieurs années en Amérique et devint membre de l'Académie Française et rédacteur en chef du *Constitutionnel*. M. Jay "commit" un pamphlet classique, *La Confession d'un Romantique*, et une *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*. C'était un bonapartiste libéral. Il avait horreur de Chateaubriand et singulièrement des *Martyrs*. Académicien, il vota plusieurs fois contre Victor Hugo. Telle est l'ascendance française de ce γένος. Elle expliquerait sans doute à merveille le libéralisme politique d'un Wallon "doctrinaire." Mais ce n'est pas du citoyen militant que nous avons à nous occuper ici. Si nous avons évoqué son "origo," c'est dans un autre dessein. L'attachement d'Henri Grégoire à ses origines, à sa terre natale, est profond, sans doute: sa carrière érudite, dont nous avons l'ambition de tracer la ligne, en apparence sinueuse et parfois brisée, doit probablement quelque chose au philhellénisme de sa poétique trisaïeule, ainsi qu'à la *Porte de Constantinople* du vieux Huy, qui fit naître dans l'âme romanesque de l'enfant studieux la nostalgie précoce de l'Orient. Quoiqu'il en soit, sur les bancs de l'Athénée Royal de Huy, en "poésie" et en "rhétorique," le collégien apprit, tout seul, le grec moderne. Il se procura les numéros du journal athénien 'Εμπρός racontant la courte guerre gréco-turque de 1897, et depuis lors il n'a plus cessé de suivre, presque jour par jour, la vie politique, littéraire et scientifique de la Grèce moderne. En 1898, il recevait de sa grand'mère, pour la Saint-Nicolas, le premier volume de l'*Epopée byzantine* de Gustave Schlumberger; en 1899, il commandait à l'éditeur Maisonneuve, de Paris, le *Digénis Akritas*, édition princeps, par Emile Legrand et Constantin Sathas. Aussi, lorsqu'en 1898, il commença (un peu malgré son père, procureur du roi près le tribunal de première instance de Huy, qui le destinait au droit) ses études de philologie classique à l'Université de Liége, ses maîtres comme ses condisciples, unanimement, le déclarèrent voué aux études byzantines, alors en pleine renaissance, grâce à Charles Diehl et à Gustave Schlumberger en France, à J. B. Bury en Angleterre, à Karl Krumbacher et à Heinrich Gelzer en Allemagne, sans parler des linguistes J. N. Hatzidakis et Jean Psichari. Henri Grégoire, qui avait fait à l'Athénée Royal de Huy de bonnes humanités, trouva à l'Université de Liége une pléïade brillante de maîtres enthousiastes, dont quelques-uns avaient du génie. L'historien catholique Godefroid Kurth, auteur de *Clovis* et de l'*Histoire politique des Mérovingiens*, lui communiqua sa foi dans l'origine et dans la valeur historiques de l'épopée, foi qui, chez Henri Grégoire, a résisté à toutes les tentations, à tous les doutes,

[1] Aucune parenté n'apparaît vraisemblable avec le plus illustre de ces "homonymes complets," l'abbé Henri Grégoire, ennemi des rois, ami des nègres.

à toutes les séductions, même d'un Bédier, et qui lui a inspiré peut-être ses meilleurs travaux. Mais il faut citer parmi les maîtres d'Henri Grégoire, *honoris et amoris causa*, le fervent francophile tournaisien Charles Michel, auteur d'un *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, toujours classique, Léon Parmentier, ami et collaborateur de Joseph Bidez, éditeur des Byzantins Evagrius et Théodoret, qui le prépara directement aux études byzantines après l'avoir initié à Platon, Henri Francotte, épigraphiste et historien de l'Economie et des Institutions, Jean-Pierre Waltzing, grand connaisseur de Minucius Felix et de Tertullien, et l'auteur d'une magistrale étude sur les corporations romaines, et beaucoup d'autres, dont le célèbre romaniste Maurice Wilmotte. Docteur en philosophie et lettres (1902), lauréat du Concours des bourses de voyage (1903), H. G. passa un semestre à Munich au séminaire de Karl Krumbacher et un autre à Berlin à celui de Wilamowitz. Il visita avec Léon Parmentier les principales villes d'Italie et travailla dans leurs bibliothèques. Il avait entrepris l'édition d'un hagiographe du VI^e^ siècle, Cyrille de Scythopolis, lorsque — c'était en 1904 — se produisit le premier des événements qui, successivement, devaient donner un tour aventureux à la carrière normale d'un jeune philologue.

La famille Grégoire-Dufrénoy appartenait traditionnellement à l'opinion libérale; or, à cette époque, et pendant trente années (1884-1914), sous la domination un peu exclusive et jalouse du parti conservateur, un savant de la dissidence, exclu naturellement de l'Université de Louvain, ne pouvait guère aspirer davantage à enseigner dans l'une des universités d'Etat de Liége et de Gand. Il n'y avait, croyait-on, qu'un seul moyen de conjurer cet *odium theologicum et politicum*: c'était de plaire à Léopold II, non en sa qualité de roi constitutionnel des Belges, mais en sa qualité de souverain absolu de l'Etat indépendant du Congo. Or, au printemps de 1904, le Roi Souverain se trouvait en difficultés. Son administration, au Congo, était vivement critiquée par certains marchands, missionnaires et parlementaires anglais, dont David Lloyd George était le chef de file. Léopold II nomma une commission internationale chargée d'enquêter sur la conduite de ses propres agents. Le Président de cette Commission fut un haut magistrat de la Cour de Cassation, Edmond Janssens, oncle d'Henri Grégoire. Et cet oncle en robe rouge refusa de s'embarquer pour Boma, s'il n'était accompagné de son jeune neveu, auquel la voix publique prêtait dès lors, avec beaucoup d'exagération, d'étonnantes aptitudes linguistiques. Les familles bourgeoises de Wallonie et des Flandres étaient alors très casanières. Pour obtenir qu'Henri Grégoire s'embarquât avec la Commission d'enquête et le titre de secrétaire-interprète, il fallut non seulement un Conseil de famille, mais un Conseil universitaire et une lettre éloquente de Léon Parmentier. Hélas, le régime léopoldien, sans être beaucoup plus mauvais que le système pratiqué à cette époque au Congo français, par exemple, était peu défendable. Après quelques semaines d'enquête, la majorité de la Commission reconnut que son rapport, s'il était sincère, n'aurait pas l'heur de plaire à celui que Parmentier appelait Léopold XIV. Il parut enfin, ce raport, en Octobre 1905, et les membres de la Commission d'enquête, depuis le Président jusqu'au secrétaire-interprète, tombèrent dans une disgrâce totale. Henri Grégoire avait insisté pour qu'on dît la vérité, toute la vérité. Il sauva les principes et la colonie, mais du coup perdit toute chance d'être nommé par Léopold II, ou plutôt par ses ministres, à cette chaire de philologie byzantine qu'il avait rêvé de fonder à Gand ou à Liége. Restait Bruxelles, mais, à cette époque, cette université pauvre n'avait guère de ressourses et encore moins de rayonnement. Elle ne semblait point du tout disposée à faire des frais pour une "spécialité de luxe."

Albert Ier dit plus tard, à propos de l'épopée de 1914, qu'alors la Belgique "fut acculée à l'héroïsme." Le jeune érudit bourgeois et sa sédentaire famille furent pareillement obligés de se réconcilier avec l'idée d'une nouvelle expatriation, d'années "d'apprentissage et de voyage," selon la bonne formule des vrais artistes et des humanistes authentiques. Toujours en quête de manuscrits grecs hagiographiques, H. Grégoire partit en novembre 1905 pour le monastère du Mont Sinaï. Il y resta tout l'hiver à collationner les biographies cyrilliennes et à copier des textes inédits, non sans querelles avec les moines (il obtint plus tard du patriarche oecuménique Joachim III de publier

en grec, dans l'organe officiel du patriarchat, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, un exposé apologétique de ces "différends"). A Pâques, il était à Jérusalem où il poursuivait ses études, collations et copies à la bibliothèque du Saint Sépulcre. Mais dès lors un miracle s'était produit; le gouvernement conservateur, tout en répugnant à nommer les "dissidents" à des chaires universitaires,[2] leur permettait de "travailler à l'extérieur," et Henri Grégoire reçut en Palestine son brevet de membre belge de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes. Il devait servir, comme on dit en Amérique, près de trois années en cette qualité, car il ne rentra définitivement en Belgique qu'en janvier 1909. De 1906-1909 donc, son port d'attache fut la savante et hospitalière maison de la rue Didot, au pied du Lycabette. Sous la direction libérale et spirituelle de Maurice Holleaux, le jeune associé belge de l'Ecole Française, tout en suivant avec beaucoup d'intérêt les célèbres fouilles de l'Ecole (l'exploration exhaustive de Délos avait succédé aux sensationnelles excavations de Delphes), se préoccupait surtout d'épigraphie byzantine. Il accompagna Gabriel Millet à Mistra, travailla avec lui dans les églises de cette Pompéi médiévale, et suivit le maître de l'archéologie byzantine, à travers le Péloponnèse, jusqu'à Arta en Epire. Mais son grand dessein, inspiré surtout par Franz Cumont, était une expédition en Asie Mineure, dans la région du Pont et en Cappadoce, au pays de Digénis Akritas. Après une longue attente, fort utilement et agréablement occupée à Constantinople, H. G. s'embarqua, en 1907, pour Samsoun sur la Mer Noire, d'où il partit, avec son ami Paul Baar, ingénieur des mines de l'Université de Liége, pour une longue campagne très fructueuse, racontée dans le *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* de 1909. Faut-il ajouter que, pendant les trois années de son séjour en Orient, le voyageur ne cessa de se perfectionner dans la langue grecque moderne, et qu'il recueillit en quelques soirées, au village de Farasha, au pied du Taurus, les éléments de la grammaire d'un dialecte alors presque complètement ignoré? Partout, en pays grec, dans le royaume, comme dans les régions encore irrédimées, il fit des connaissances et noua des amitiés dont plusieurs, grâce à Dieu, durent aujourd'hui encore. H. G. fut le condisciple de Constantin Amantos à Munich, dans l'hiver de 1902-1903; et il rencontra Socrate Kougéas à Paris chez Daniel Serruys, en 1909. Car, bien entendu, le jeune Hutois, pendant ses années de voyage, n'avait pas été infidèle à la passion qui a toujours entraîné les Wallons vers Paris. Il avait étudié à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes et à la Sorbonne en 1903-1904. Il revenait au séminaire de Gabriel Millet à chacun de ses retours d'Orient. Il eut pour maîtres Victor Bérard et Jean Psichari, et pour condisciple Paul Mazon. C'est à Paris qu'il se maria, en août 1909, à la mairie du VI[e] arrondissement et en l'église Saint-Sulpice, avec une Parisienne dont la mère était Sedanaise. Et la même année il accepta une chaire de philologie grecque, avec le titre et le traitement plus que modestes de chargé de cours, à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Son prédécesseur était l'illustre helléniste Alphonse Willems, dont la traduction d'Aristophane, encore inédite alors, était déjà fameuse. Successivement H. G. enseigna l'histoire de la littérature grecque, la paléographie et l'épigraphie grecques, et fut chargé, aux termes du programme "de l'explication d'un auteur grec, en candidature et au doctorat." Dès la première année, il annonça aussi un cours de grec byzantin et moderne. Mais les instruments de travail manquaient presque complètement à l'Université, surtout pour la période byzantine. Et lorsque la première guerre universelle éclata, le jeune professeur, en proie d'ailleurs à de graves difficultés matérielles, redoutait d'être obligé de renoncer à la carrière scientifique que ses maîtres lui avaient promise, et à une vocation qui s'était si clairement et si impérieusement manifestée. Il eût certainement désespéré tout à fait, s'il avait pu prévoir la première catastrophe mondiale et l'orientation toute nouvelle que les événements allaient donner à son activité.

Après les terribles massacres du mois d'août 1914 — ils ensanglantèrent surtout sa région natale — le jeune professeur qui, pour sa qualité d'érudit et sa connaissance de l'allemand, était respecté des autorités occupantes locales, fut autorisé, par elles, pendant trois mois, à publier dans sa ville de

[2] La retentissante affaire Cumont devait faire la preuve éclatante de cette répugnance.

Huy un journal, l'*Echo de la Guerre*. Le succès fut stupéfiant et le tirage croissait sans cesse, lorsque le journal fut supprimé en mars 1915 pour avoir osé prédire l'ouverture des Dardanelles et la chute de Constantinople. Mais il resta de cette aventure, dans l'esprit des Belges, l'idée que l'obscur professeur de grec de l'Université de Bruxelles était un brillant journaliste qui s'ignorait. Et c'est pourquoi, pendant toute l'occupation, il ne cessa d'être sollicité de collaborer à divers journaux. Ecrire pour la presse censurée lui paraissait incompatible avec la dignité patriotique. (L'*Echo de la Guerre*, par suite d'un accord avec la *Kommandantur* locale, publiait les communiqués des Alliés sans aucune censure). En revanche la presse clandestine avait de quoi le tenter. Avec ses amis Oscar Grojean et Anatole Muhlstein (plus tard Ministre de Pologne à Bruxelles et à Paris, qu'il retrouva à New York[2a]), pendant l'année 1917, tout en "professant" une foule de matières dans divers Athénées de l'agglomération bruxelloise, H. G. préparait le *Flambeau* clandestin de 1918, dont sept numéros parurent jusqu'à la délivrance et dont le succès fut tel qu'à son corps défendant le professeur, tout en reprenant son enseignement, fut obligé de garder la direction d'une grosse revue mensuelle. Elle parut dès lors sans interruption, jusqu'en avril 1940. Pendant la guerre, enthousiaste des succès russes, et influencé par Anatole Muhlstein, H. G. s'était remis au russe, et avait traduit en vers la plupart des oeuvres importantes de Lermontov. Les années 1919, 1920-1923 furent dures, et, en un sens, critiques. Chargé d'un enseignement de plus en plus lourd, directeur du *Flambeau*, sans cesse en voyage d'exploration politique (Rhénanie, Berlin, Tchécoslovaquie, Autriche, Hongrie), H. G. que Paul Mazon avait enrôlé comme collaborateur de la Collection Budé, commençait à craindre que tant d'années perdues pour les études byzantines ne démentissent finalement, de la manière la plus cruelle, les espoirs que Parmentier, Krumbacher, Diehl et Millet avaient mis en lui, quand ce qu'il a l'habitude d'appeler un second miracle lui fit retrouver subitement le chemin perdu. Henri Pirenne, convoquant en 1923 le Congrès historique de Bruxelles, lui confia l'organisation d'une section byzantine. Cette modeste section, où parut Nicolas Iorga, fut la cellule dont sortirent, d'une part les six grands congrès byzantins (Bucarest 1924, Belgrade 1927, Athènes 1930, Sofia 1934, Rome 1936, Alger 1939 [préparé mais non tenu]) et la revue internationale des études byzantines, *Byzantion*, dont le premier volume porte la date de 1924, mais qui parut, il y a vingt et un ans, en 1925. Désormais l'Université de Bruxelles, et surtout le génial recteur d'alors, le grand Brachet, reconnurent toute l'importance de la discipline nouvelle. Et le représentant de cette discipline fut encouragé à poursuivre une oeuvre que Pirenne avait déclarée d'intérêt national. Nous n'aurions plus grand'chose à dire sur une carrière qui va reprendre enfin son allure rectiligne, si un nouvel accident ne s'était soudainement produit, un accident de nature, il faut l'avouer, à provoquer des doutes sérieux sur la vocation du directeur de *Byzantion* et en tout cas, sur son esprit de suite. Au printemps de 1925, H. G. devenait fonctionnaire égyptien, favori du roi Fouad, fondateur de l'Université égyptienne et doyen de la Faculté des Lettres. Il ne parle pas volontiers de cet épisode exotique et aberrant de sa carrière; il n'en a guère rapporté, dit-il, qu'une "admiration" sans bornes de la politique anglaise.[3] Il date sa véritable vie scientifique de son retour à Bruxelles dans l'été de 1928. Dès lors les créations et fondations se succèdent. 1930/31: avec R. Werner, J. Pirenne, A. Eck, H. G. fonde l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, un nom qui s'allonge encore, quelques années plus tard, par l'addition des mots "et Slaves." Dans cet Institut, plus tard assimilé aux Facultés et autorisé à décerner des diplômes, le séminaire byzantin était encadré. A ce séminaire, un local digne de lui était enfin assuré: la Salle Byzantine de la Bibliothèque Royale. Bientôt, des savants éminents, originaires de Russie, d'Autriche, d'Allemagne, réfugiés en Belgique et en France, ralliaient le nouveau Centre d'études, et ils inauguraient: Nicolas Adontz, l'enseignement de la littérature et de l'histoire arménienne, Ernest Stein, l'histoire des institutions

[2a] Ce fut Anatole Muhlstein qui fonda la première chaire de Slavistique à l'Université de Bruxelles (premier titulaire, W. Lednicki).

[3] Et du Corneille de *Nicomède*, nous dit-il, en citant ces vers si actuels:

Non que je veuille à Rome imputer quelque crime:
Du grand art de régner elle suit la maxime. . . .

byzantines, Ernest Honigmann, l'étude de la géographie de l'Orient médiéval, surtout de la géographie ecclésiastique, Paul Wittek, la turcologie. Parmi les bons élèves belges du maître, nommons des noms déjà célèbres: Roger Goossens, Claire Préaux, la disciple préférée de son jeune collègue Marcel Hombert, les slavisants Backvis et Szeftel, l'arabisant Armand Abel, l'égyptologue Pierre Gilbert. Gilbert Heuten est tombé au champ d'honneur en mai 1940 et Werner Kamps s'est noyé presqu'en même temps, victime d'une torpille allemande. Maurice Sulzberger, auteur du mémoire très connu sur le *Signe de la Croix* (*Byzantion*, t. II), et sa femme, Madeleine Level, on péri dans une chambre à gaz. Raoul de Keyser, gendre d'Henri Grégoire et son collaborateur pour le premier mémoire sur la *Chanson de Roland*, a été tué en Ardenne, trois mois après la victoire, par une mine allemande. La soeur d'Henri Grégoire, Junia Letty, amie et collaboratrice dévouée elle aussi, et grand écrivain par-dessus le marché, quitta Prague le coeur brisé après la catastrophe de la première république et mourut à Paris en janvier 1941. Willy Benedictus, le neveu favori, fils de Junia Letty, qui s'était passioné, surtout, pour les recherches épiques de son oncle, et avait composé sous sa direction un index historique du *Sayyid-Battal*, a succombé en Allemagne où il était prisonnier, dans des circonstances tragiques et qui ne sont pas encore éclaircies. C'est la disparition de tous ces jeunes enthousiastes qui assombrit, pour le jubilaire, une manifestation amicale dont il n'aurait jamais agréé l'hommage sans leur participation spirituelle. Il m'a prié de commémorer pieusement ici leurs noms impérissables, noms de disciples et de martyrs.

Je n'ai plus grand'chose à ajouter. Pour l'histoire de l'Institut, le lecteur n'a qu'à consulter les sept, bientôt les huit volumes de son *Annuaire*, les deux derniers, VII et VIII, publiés en Amérique. On verra, dans la *Chronique de l'Institut*, à la fin du tome VII de l'*Annuaire*, comment celui-ci s'est reconstitué à New York et ce qu'il y a fait. L'histoire est glorieuse, certes, mais c'est de la *current history*. Et de plus, c'est un chapitre de l'histoire, qui continue, de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes. Il faudrait tout un livre pour raconter l'oeuvre de ces cinq années. Mais pour l'apprécier en dix lignes, nous avons laissé la parole au Général de Gaulle. Et j'ai annoncé qu'en tête de ce volume jubilaire dédié à des savants, je ne parlerai pas du rôle politique de celui qui fut pourtant et qui va redevenir, paraît-il, le directeur du *Flambeau*. L'adversaire respectueux (et d'ailleurs plein d'admiration pour sa grandeur) de Léopold II, le dissident qui lutta jadis contre le parti conservateur belge, mais dont les deux maîtres principaux sont deux grands savants catholiques, Godefroid Kurth et le R. P. Peeters, l'ennemi de la neutralité déguisée de 1936-1940, le Président de l'Ecole Libre qui, pour citer encore le Général de Gaulle, se bat pour l'indépendance et pour l'existence de sa grande université franco-belge, notre ami Henri Grégoire luttera encore, sans doute, contre plus d'un roi et plus d'un ministre, sans compter les sous-secrétaires d'Etat. Mais ses luttes, toutes menées et soutenues pour la liberté et pour la grandeur des pays et des civilisations auxquels il s'est dédié, ces luttes si chaudes, qui ne furent pas sans peine, ne seront pas sans honneur. Καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος. Et notre Hellade en particulier n'oubliera jamais ce qu'il a fait pour elle pendant un demi-siècle. Aucune foi ne fut plus ardente, ni plus agissante, que celle de ce philhellène, qui n'a jamais ambitionné d'autre épitaphe que cet hémistiche de Solon: Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνήρ.

HENRI GREGOIRE

(Né le 21 mars 1881 à Huy, province de Liège)

Docteur en philologie classique de l'Université de Liége; secrétaire de la Commission d'Enquête au Congo Belge, 1904-1905; membre étranger de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes, 1906-1909; chargé de cours et professeur à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles depuis 1909; doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université du Caire, 1925-1927, et de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1929-1932; vice-président de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, depuis 1932.

Mission au Mont-Sinaï et en Asie Mineure, 1905-1907; missions et confé-

rences aux Etats-Unis, au Canada, en France, Algérie, Suisse, Tchécoslovaquie, Pologne, Roumanie, Grèce, Yougoslavie.

Co-fondateur et co-directeur du *Flambeau*,[1] revue mensuelle, politique et littéraire, d'abord clandestine sous la première occupation allemande, 1918-1940; co-fondateur et seul directeur depuis 1930 de *Byzantion*,[2] revue internationale des études byzantines; co-fondateur et co-directeur de la revue *L'Antiquité Classique*;[3] fondateur et éditeur responsable de l'*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*,[4] de *Renaissance*,[5] inspirateur et co-fondateur de *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*,[6] *The Armenian Quarterly*,[7] ainsi que de la *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* (depuis 1922). Editeur du *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae* (3 vols. parus).

Visiting professor of History and Classics à Stanford University, 1931; Sather lecturer on the Classics à l'University of California, Berkeley, 1938.

Associate professor (Byzantine History and Classics) à la New School for Social Research, depuis 1940.

Fondateur et vice-président de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, et vice-président de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves à New York (1941); Président de l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (depuis 1944) et vice-doyen de sa Faculté des Lettres.

Docteur *honoris causa* des Universités d'Athènes, d'Alger et de Sofia; membre de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, depuis 1931; correspondant de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Institut de France), 1936; membre d'honneur de l'Académie Royale de Roumanie, depuis 1938; membre d'honneur des Instituts archéologiques de Vienne, d'Athènes, et de Sofia; de la Société Littéraire Parnassos d'Athènes; de la Société des Etudes Byzantines d'Athènes; de l'Institut Kondakov (Prague-Belgrade); de l'Institut Slave de Prague; corresponding fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America; membre de l'Académie Royale du Danemark (1946).

Commandeur de l'Ordre de Léopold de Belgique; chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur; commandeur des Ordres de la Couronne de Belgique, du Sauveur de Grèce, du Phénix de Grèce, de Saint Sava de Serbie, de *Polonia restituta*, de St. Alexandre de Bulgarie; grand-officier de l'Ordre du Mérite bulgare; grand-croix de l'Ordre du St. Sépulcre Orthodoxe; officier de l'Ordre de Georges II de Grèce.

N. G. Mavris

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[1] *Le Flambeau*, revue belge des questions politiques et littéraires. Vol. I les Sept flambeaux de la guerre (le Flambeau clandestin). Vol. 2-23 (1919-avril 1940).

[2] *Byzantion*: Tome I-IV en collaboration avec P. Graindor; publication honorée du Prix Théodore Reinach par l'Association des études grecques. 14 tomes parus de 1924 à 1939 à Liége et Bruxelles. Les volumes XV, XVI et XVII ont paru en Amérique sous les auspices du "Byzantine Institute" de Boston). Le volume XVIII paraîtra à Bruxelles en 1947.

[3] *L'Antiquité Classique*. 13 tomes parus de 1932 à 1944 à Bruxelles.

[4] L'*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*: 6 tomes en 8 volumes parus de 1932 à 1939; le tome VII (1939/1943) a paru à New York à la Moretus Press (aux éditions de l'Institut); le tome VIII va paraître prochainement.

[5] *Renaissance*, revue trimestrielle publiée par l'Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes. Ont paru vol. I (1943), volume II/III (1944-1945); volume double de 541 pages. En préparation, vol. IV (1946).

[6] *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*. Premier volume en l'honneur de l'école belge de byzantinologie, représentée par M. M. Henri Grégoire et Ernest Honigmann, publié par N. G. Mavris (1946).

[7] *Armenian Quarterly*, dont le premier fascicule de 124 pages vient de paraître (1946).

ERNEST HONIGMANN

La vocation scientifique d'Ernest Honigmann fut très tôt, dès les bancs de l'école, la géographie historique des pays de la Méditerranée orientale. Il fut excellent cartographe, très remarqué pour ses talents de dessinateur, et il va sans dire que l'histoire ancienne de l'Orient l'attira toujours. Son premier travail important, paru en 1922, était consacré aux couvents de la *Syrie du Nord* avant l'nvasion arabe; et la Syrie est restée depuis alors le domaine où Honigmann se sent particulièrement "at home." Il conçut très tôt l'ambition de reconstituer, d'après toutes les sources, l'histoire, à travers les siècles, des localités, des régions, des provinces du Proche Orient. Il a donné de nombreux exemples de cette méthode exhaustive dans ses monographies, admirablement complètes, de centaines de villes et de bourgades, monographies qui ont paru sous forme d'articles dans les grandes encyclopédies spéciales, la *Realencyklopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* de Pauly-Wissowa, par exemple, et l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam. Mais il a aussi écrit des mémoires sur des régions entières: les plus remarquables spécimens sont les articles *Syria, Libye, Commagene* du Pauly-Wissowa. C'est de bien autre chose que d'une ville ou d'une province qu'il s'agit dans le livre d'Honigmann sur la *Frontière Orientale de l'Empire byzantin*: il y retrace en somme l'histoire des deux puissants voisins, perpétuellement en guerre l'un avec l'autre, l'Empire romain (puis byzantin) et l'Empire perse (puis l'Empire arabe), et poursuit cette histoire à travers les siècles, en se plaçant aux points de contact et de friction de ces deux éternels rivaux: leur frontière mouvante, et pourtant remarquablement stable avec ses oscillations ou fluctuations. Ce livre est étonnament riche et neuf et l'historien de Byzance, de la Perse et de Rome devra toujours s'en servir.

E. Honigmann s'est aussi occupé de l'histoire de la géographie ancienne et médiévale (articles *Strabon, Marinos de Tyr, Etienne de Byzance*). En particulier, il a étudié de la manière la plus savante la signification de ce que les géographes anciens ont appelé les Κλίματα, depuis l'origine de cette théorie jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age. Dans ce livre, il a étudié aussi les relations entre la géographie ancienne et les théories astrologiques, et trouvé du nouveau sur les conceptions des astrologues; c'est pourquoi il a été prié d'étudier les ἀναφοραί des astrologues dans un papyrus de Michigan (Michigan Papyri t. III, *Ann Arbor,* 1937, pp. 301-321).

En même temps Honigmann s'est occupé, de plus en plus intensivement, de la géographie ecclésiastique. En 1925, il a reconstitué le texte original de la "Notitia Antiochena" de 570 environ, d'après les mss. syriaques et grecs, document important dont on a essayé tout récemment de nier l'authenticité, mais sans preuve convaincante, comme Honigmann le montrera prochainement. Plus récemment, il a essayé d'établir la forme originale des listes conciliaires (Nicée, Constantinople, Chalcédoine). A plusieurs reprises, il a entrepris de préparer les matériaux pour un nouveau *Le Quien* (je veux dire, un nouvel *Oriens Christianus*). Les nouvelles éditions d'Ed. Schwartz ont considérablement éclairci ces questions. Il va de soi que ces vastes travaux de déblaiement ont livré à Honigmann de nombreuses trouvailles de détail dont quelques-unes sont sensationnelles (*Origines de l'Eglise russe, St. Méthode de Moravie et son rival l'évêque Agathon*).

L'Orient chrétien ayant été bien plus divisé dogmatiquement que l'Occident, l'historien-géographe de ces régions ne peut perdre de vue les grandes Eglises dissidentes, la nestorienne et la monophysite. C'est surtout sur cette dernière que nous possédons des matériaux abondants, non encore étudiés et exploités. Ces matériaux sont principalement syriaques. Honigmann a écrit l'ouvrage définitif sur le diocèse de Sévère d'Antioche. Pour l'époque arabe, il a étudié le site et l'histoire du Couvent de Barçauma, et la géographie de la région située entre Samosate et Mélitène, bien connue par les chroniqueurs syriaques, dans un travail qui devait paraître avant la guerre sous les auspices de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.

Invité à passer un semestre au fameux centre byzantin de Dumbarton Oaks, il y trouva l'ocassion d'écrire une monographie étendue sur Juvénal de Jéru-

salem. Il y expose non seulement l'histoire, mais encore la légende, ou plutôt les légendes, la monophysite et l'orthodoxe, qui entourent son nom; surtout la tradition qui introduit dans l'histoire de Juvénal une mention des fameux traités de Denys l'Aréopagite. Ce fut le point de départ d'amples recherches qui semblent avoir abouti à la détermination du milieu qui vit naître ces écrits célèbres (le "cercle de Pierre l'Ibère et de Jean l'Eunuque"). Mais Franz Cumont, le R. P. Paul Peeters, M. O. Neugebauer apprécieront mieux que nous la valeur or de ce magnifique érudit.

N. G. Mavris

ERNEST HONIGMANN ET L'ORIENS CHRISTIANUS

Découvrir, comme par hasard, sous une signature encore peu connue, un essai ou une simple note, présentant tous les caractères d'un savoir déjà mûr et destiné à se classer hors de pair, c'est assurément l'une des plus agréables satisfactions réservées au travailleur qui doit perdre son temps et sa peine à surveiller la marée quotidienne du papier imprimé. Cette heureuse surprise n'est parfois qu'une promesse encore sujette à être suivie d'une déception. Mais il est de ces cas où l'élan du début destine un essor si ferme et si bien mesuré, qu'il permet de tracer à l'avance la courbe de l'ascension commencée. C'est l'horoscope que je me souviens d'avoir tiré sans hésitation, *in illo tempore,* après avoir lu dans la revue *Oriens Christianus* (N.S., t. XII-XIV, 1922-1924, p. 214-217) un court article intitulé: *Marinianus von Rosapha.* Le Dr Ernest Honigmann y apportait quelques rectifications au t. II d'un autre *Oriens Christianus,* celui du très docte Michel Lequien O. P., l'original de ce titre fameux. Un *errata* à un in-folio publié en 1740, quoi de si merveilleux en apparence? Mais pour un homme du métier, il était impossible de s'y tromper. Instruit par une expérience cent fois refaite avec le même résultat, un chercheur sait d'avance à quoi il s'expose quand il lui faut vérifier une mention erratique concernant la personnalité, l'époque, la carrière, voire l'existence d'un figurant obscur de l'ancienne hiérarchie byzantine. On bat les répertoires, les bibliographies, les encyclopédies, les tables onomastiques des histoires qui en possèdent, pour aboutir à constater que les auteurs qui ont parlé de ce revenant du pays des ombres ne le connaissent que par Lequien. Les pistes nouvelles qui ont paru s'amorcer au cours de cette battue infructueuse ne promettaient rien de neuf que pour avoir été démarquées par quelque moderne qui avait remplacé le nom de Lequien par celui d'un plagiaire qui l'a copié sans le citer ou s'est donné l'air de le rajeunir en se référant à des éditions récentes de ses sources. Mais le philologue encore jeune qui se trouvait en mesure d'établir en quelques lignes la véritable identité de Marinianus de Rosapha pouvait sans arrogance corriger l'*Oriens Christianus.* Il était descendu dans les fondations de ce monument vénérable; il s'était déjà fait un plan lucide de l'immense et difficile travail, au prix duquel on pourrait débrouiller, classer et co-ordonner les anciennes listes épiscopales du proche Orient. A voir la sûreté de ces coups de sonde, on sentait distinctement qu'il se mouvait à l'aise dans cet immense et confus champ de ruines et qu'il arriverait à le dominer. Au moment où il écrivait ces courtes pages pleines de choses, Honigmann était en avance sur l'archéologie, puisque, sans avoir lu le *Rusafa* de MM. Spanner et Guyer (1924), il savait déjà que la première basilique de Saint-Serge avait été élevée au début du V^{e} siècle par l'archevêque Alexandre d'Hiérapolis.

Cette modeste scolie sans prétention risque aujourd'hui de passer inaperçue dans l'oeuvre imposante de son auteur. Quant à moi, s'il m'est permis de parler en mon nom, elle m'est restée dans la mémoire comme un pronostic dont j'ai suivi l'accomplissement sans aucune surprise et, pourqoui le cacher? avec un brin de pardonnable fierté. Ce n'est pourtant pas qu'il ait été bien malaisé à discerner. Le seul ton de respectueuse admiration avec lequel Honigmann parlait de Lequien était déjà un indice suffisamment révélateur. On y sentait non seulement la modestie et la bonne foi essentielles à toute vraie critique, mais tout autant l'expérience d'un défricheur déjà familiarisé avec les difficultés surhumaines auxquelles jadis s'accrochait à chaque pas l'effort gigantesque des grands précurseurs de la philologie byzantine. Réno-

vateur de leur tâche immense, Honigmann a retrouvé leur étonnante puissance de travail. Il l'a complétée par une méthode qui est bien à lui. A force de sagacité, d'application et de patience, il lui est arrivé souvent de dépasser les intuitions hardies d'un Tomaschek et la génialité fantasque d'un Markwart.

On n'oserai point parler du succès qui a couronné cette activité infatigable, car, jusqu'à présent, elle n'a été récompensée que par l'évidente et durable utilité de ses résultats. Honigmann avait déjà rendu à l'érudition allemande de signalés services, quand, à l'avènement du régime hitlérien, il fut brutalement destitué de son emploi par la persécution nazie, et se décida à quitter immédiatement l'Allemagne. Réfugié en Belgique, il trouva, grâce à la clairvoyante bienveillance de M. H. Grégoire, un accueil cordial à l'Institut Oriental de l'U.L.B. Mais la générosité de ses hôtes ne pouvait malgré tout lui assurer que l'ombre des facilités de travail dont il avait joui comme attaché à la Staatsbibliothek de Berlin. Il sut admirablement tirer profit des moyens mis de bon coeur à sa disposition. Dans ce milieu sympathique, Honigmann conquit d'emblée l'estime et le respect de tous, autant par son mérite professionnel que par la discrétion et l'impeccable dignité avec lesquelles il s'adapta aux nécessités d'une situation étroite. A peine s'était-il fait au climat de l'exil, que l'invasion hitlérienne vint le déraciner une seconde fois. Il était alors sous le coup d'un deuil particulièrement cruel et menacé de perdre la vue. Aucun répit ne put lui être accordé. Le 10 mai 1940 il fut arrêté dans la rue et, sans pouvoir revoir ses enfants dont il est séparé depuis lors, déporté dans le Midi de la France. Depuis lors les amis et compagnons de travail qu'il s'était faits chez nous furent impuissants à retrouver sa trace. Tout essai de recherche risquait de le mettre en danger. Ce ne fut que de longues années plus tard que nous avons connu les dures épreuves par lesquelles il avait passé et le miracle qui l'en avait tiré.

C'est aux témoins de ces poignantes vicissitudes qu'il appartient de les raconter. Ils diront aussi par quel prodige d'énergie, dans la libre atmosphère du "pays de la vie intense," Honigmann a pu reprendre et soutenir son activité scientifique. Mais puisque l'occasion m'est offerte d'en donner la nouvelle, je saisis avec joie l'occasion d'annoncer que notre éminent confrère et ami est venu à bout de préparer une édition devisée de l'*Oriens Christianus* pour la période proprement byzantine. Les plus augustes sympathies sont acquises à ce grand oeuvre. Seuls les insurmontables embarras résultant du chaos économique actuel empêchent d'en assurer sans retard l'exécution. Qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer ici le souhait que la Providence secourable à ceux qui ont souffert de l'injustice des hommes inspire à de généreux mécènes l'ambition d'attacher leur nom à un monument destiné à traverser les siècles.

Paul Peeters
Président de la Société des Bolladistes

PREFACE DE M. FRANZ CUMONT AU LIVRE DE M. ERNEST HONIGMANN "LE SYNEKDEMOS D'HIEROKLES" (Bruxelles 1939)

Au début du règne de Justinien, un "grammairien" dont on ne sait que le nom, Hiéroklès, composa un *Synecdèmos* — titre qui se traduit assez exactement par *vademecum* — donnant une liste de soixante quatre provinces et de neuf cent vingt-trois — autrefois neuf cent trent cinq — villes de l'Empire d'Orient. Cette sèche nomenclature, qui, par son caractère civil et administratif, se distingue nettement des nombreux *taktika* d'archevêchés et d'évêchés classés selon la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, fixe seule pour nous le cadre politique de l'Etat byzantin, tel qu'il existait avant l'invasion musulmane. Nous ne possédons rien de pareil ni pour les anciennes monarchies orientales, ni pour les royaumes des diadoques, ni même pour l'*orbis Romanus* des Césars. Si ce manuel infiniment précieux est d'un intérêt capital pour la connaissance de l'organisation des territoires soumis à Byzance, son énumé-

ration de près d'un millier de villes ou régions est aussi le fondement le plus solide de toute étude sur la géographie du Bas-Empire.

Un texte de cette valeur ne pouvait manquer d'être souvent réimprimé. Il le fut au moins six fois au cours du XIX^e^ siècle, et le dernier éditeur, Burckhardt, a tenté, en 1893, de reconstituer l'archétype des manuscrits d'Hiéroklès, bien qu'il connût à peine l'un des plus importants. Mais — fait surprenant — l'indispensable *Synecdèmos* n'avait plus été éclairci par un commentaire depuis celui de Wesseling, paru en 1735, remarquable pour son époque, mais rédigé à une date où n'était même pas commencée l'exploration topographique et archéologique de l'Orient grec. M. Honigmann a pensé avec raison que ce travail devait être repris aujourd'hui que nous disposons de moyens d'information infiniment plus nombreux et plus sûrs. Personne ne pouvait mieux s'acquitter de cette tâche que ce spécialiste éminent, qui s'est révélé un connaisseur hors pair de la géographie romaine et médiévale. Il a mis au service d'études longuement poursuivies une érudition nourrie des sources orientales aussi bien que de la littérature classique, une connaissance étendue et précise des oeuvres des voyageurs et cartographes modernes comme des dissertations des érudits sur la toponymie de l'antiquité ou du moyen âge. Ses recherches méthodiques appliquées à l'opuscule d'Hiéroklès et aux fragments de son imitateur, Georges de Chypre, lui ont permis souvent de remonter au delà de l'archétype déjà corrompu où s'était arrêté l'effort des philologues, de restituer la forme véritable des noms altérés, telle que devaient l'offrir les documents officiels dont l'auteur s'est servi. Surtout, il a pu fixer l'emplacement qu'occupaient autrefois ces villes que mentionne à la file le nomenclateur du VI^e^ siècle, et dont la plupart ont disparu. Ces identifications obtenues, il a pu dresser des cartes, qui sont le plus exactes que l'on possède des provinces administrées, comme dit le préambule d'Hiéroklès, "par le *basileus* des Romains qui est à Constantinople." Elles seront désormais, on peut le prédire à coup sûr, consultées par tous les historiens soucieux de précision géographique, et le *Synecdèmos* reconstitué justifiera son nom en accompagnant les explorateurs dans les pays du Levant. Les arides statistiques d'un obscur *grammatikos* ont été vivifiées par leur commentateur et nous parlent un clair langage. Nous voyons dans les limites des éparchies se grouper ces agglomérations urbaines qui se pressaient autrefois dans des régions aujourd'hui dépeuplées et désolées, et le travail cartographique si méritoire de M. Honigmann rend ainsi sensible aux yeux le fondement démographique de la puissance byzantine. Si l'Italie est dite le pays aux cent villes, l'empire d'Orient peut être appelé l'Etat aux mille cités.

FRANZ CUMONT

ERNEST HONIGMANN — HIS CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

"Il y a de grandes entreprises scientifiques dont l'achèvement se heurte à d'innombrables obstacles. La cause en est avant tout la brièveté de la vie humaine, souvent aggravée par les conditions défavorables dans lesquelles se trouve le petit nombre de savants qui, par leur savoir et par l'enthousiasme qui les inspire, sont seuls capables d'accomplir la tâche ingrate." These words, written ten years ago by E. Honigmann, need no comment. But even without the extremities of "unfavorable conditions" which prevailed during the last decades, scholarship faces serious danger in the present trend of development. It has become fashionable to discredit specialized work as if the enormous complexity of historical processes were the fault of the historian and not inherent in the facts, as if "synthesis" could exist by itself instead of being the natural outgrowth of steadily increasing familiarity with all aspects of a problem.

Honigmann's work in historical geography is an excellent illustration of the above remarks. The outsider might well think it an extremely limited task to investigate geographical problems of the early middle ages in Syria or Asia Minor. Yet, Syriac literature was the all-important medium of the

transmission of the Greek sciences into Arabic. Geography, both in its broader sense and in its relation to astronomy, is one of the strongest links which binds together the Hellenistic period and the Middle Ages. Geographical knowledge and astronomical concepts were rather little affected by religious intolerance. Honigmann's study of the concept of the "Seven Climates" is a masterpiece of historical research, based on a minute knowledge of Greek, Syriac and Arabic literature, illustrating the uninterrupted flow of thought from Eratosthenes to Ptolemy, from the late Greek commentators to early Christian and Byzantine writers, from Syriac tradition to Arabic and western mediaeval works. It is only to underline my own indebtedness to this work of Honigmann that I record the lasting impression it made on me to see how this great manifold of historical relations is centered around a single astronomical concept, the variability of the length of daylight in its dependence on the geographical latitude. As the discovery of Kepler's laws welded the planetary system into one greater unit, the discovery of the relationship between geographical location and the time of rising and setting of the ecliptic must have deeply influenced the concepts of ancient scholars about our globe. But it required the full competence and all the enthusiasm of an excellent scholar to bring this fact again before the eyes of the modern historian.

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ERNEST HONIGMANN

Le Maître de la Géographie Byzantine

Extrait d'une lettre adressée à M. H. G. par M. Franz Cumont, Membre de l'Institut (17 juillet 1946)

Je déplore autant que vous la léthargie où semble plongé, à Bruxelles, l'Institut Oriental, qui avait commencé si brillamment son existence, et je souhaiterais comme vous que Honigmann pût y rentrer bientôt triomphalement, avec vous, comme l'un des meilleurs parmi vos excellents collaborateurs. Depuis l'époque déjà reculée où j'ai appris à le connaître, j'ai pour ses travaux la plus grande estime; j'admire à la fois l'étendue et la précision de son érudition. La géographie historique dont il est un des maîtres, exige en même temps les qualités de l'historien et celles du géographe, et il les possède à un degré éminent. Son savoir polyglotte lui permet d'utiliser avec une égale aisance les sources grecques et orientales. Pour ne parler que du dernier ouvrage qui a paru avant la guerre, en 1939, son édition fondamentale et monumentale du *Synecdemos d'Hiérokles*, elle a assis sur une base plus solide la géographie politique de l'empire byzantin et restera indispensable à toute recherche sur ce sujet ardu.. Honigmann m'a encore envoyé d'Amérique diverses publications dont je n'ai pu le remercier, ignorant son adresse. Elles m'ont prouvé que son activité est toujours aussi fructueuse. Je songe surtout à son étude sur les listes originales des signataires des conciles de Nicée et de Chalcédoine. Ce travail nous mène beacoup au-delà de ce qu'avait obtenu Otto Cuntz, qui s'occupait déjà de ce sujet quand il était mon condisciple à Berlin en 1890. Pour me résumer d'un mot, je vous dirai en toute sincérité qu'à mon avis aucune université ne devrait hésiter à s'adjoindre, si elle le pouvait, un pareil collaborateur.

H. GREGOIRE: INVESTIGATEUR DE L'EPOPEE

Dans le cercle immense, et infiniment varié des intérêts scientifiques et littéraires d'Henri Grégoire, le plus "dynamique" est sans contredit celui de l'*Epopée nationale*. Dans toute l'histoire des littératures et traditions populaires de l'Europe et des régimes limitrophes de l'Europe, il ne se trouve nul domaine, en effet, où les controverses érudites aient été plus vives et plus ardentes, où des dogmes opposés se soient heurtés avec autant d'intransigeance. Avec sa passion impétueuse de lutteur infatigable, H. Grégoire se lança dans la mêlée et l'on peut dire à présent qu'il en est sorti vainqueur. Les contre-attaques de ses adversaires ont pu faire naître des doutes sur le succès final; mais la frappante indigence de leurs arguments montre, sans équivoque possible, de quel côté était la vérité. Si les jalons d'une histoire comparative de l'épopée médiévale ont été posés pour la première fois par H. Grégoire, la cause en est dans la rare ampleur de son expérience scientifique; en lui, le classiciste "surveille," pour ainsi dire, le médiéviste; chez lui, l'historien met en garde le philologue contre le "simplisme" du dilettante, quand il s'agit de deviner le "mot" des cantilènes, c'est à dire, de préciser les faits qui sont à leur origine; et le philologue, à son tour, renvoie l'historien à la rude école de la critique des textes. C'est un cas très rare que celui de ce "chercheur," qui s'est progressivement familiarisé avec la tradition épique d'une demi-douzaine de peuples, je devrais écrire "mondes": le roman, le grec, le germanique, le slave, l'arménien, l'arabe et le turc.

Il est bien vrai que, dans son investigation de l'épopée, l'école romantique a péché par un doctrinarisme sans nuance, trop "rectiligne"; et sans aucun doute, plus d'une correction essentielle était nécessaire. Mais c'eût été (et en fait, ce fut), comme disent les linguistes, la contre-faute, que de rejeter, avec une intransigeance tout aussi doctrinaire que celle des romantiques, la théorie romantique, comme on rejette un fruit qu'on trouve gâté, *dente superbo,* sans même en conserver le coeur qui est parfaitement sain.

Il n'y a point de doute que les éléments purement livresques qu'on trouve dans les monuments de la littérature épique n'ont pas été appréciés comme il aurait fallu par les Romantiques, et les investigations ultérieures ont remis au point bien des choses, à cet égard. Mais, malheureusement, les adversaires du romantisme ne reculèrent pas devant l'excès contraire, et s'épuisèrent en futiles efforts pour ramener l'épopée à des sources qu'ils prétendaient, contre toute vraisemblance, contre toute évidence, être EXCLUSIVEMENT livresques. La mission infiniment honorable (et qui, surtout au début, exigeait du courage, parce qu'il s'agissait d'une vraie insurrection contre des maîtres impérieux), la mission, dis-je, qui échut à Henri Grégoire, fut de rappeler, à tout ceux qui voulaient l'ignorer, les liens qui unissent la tradition épique au folklore, et de montrer, avec la clarité d'une évidence, que le stade de l'"élaboration littéraire," représenté par les monuments épiques du Moyen Age, a été précédé par une période de création orale.

Les savants de style romantique avaient un sentiment très vif de l'antiquité de l'épopée et de ses contacts intimes avec le fonds historique et les événements que cette époque reflète. Sa couche primitive, la plus profonde, "enchanta" et absorba tellement les premiers "prospecteurs" que les couches plus récentes échappèrent à leur attention. Il s'ensuivit que les recherches de l'école qui suivit la romantique porta sur ces couches récentes, ces "alluvions," par une réaction trop naturelle. Et de nouveau, la science fut menacée d'un péril: car on en vint à considérer des dépôts superficiels comme du terrain primitif, et, trop légèrement — l'erreur a été commune pendant les dernières générations d'érudits — on prit l'époque à laquelle remontaient ces additions, ces remaniements, pour LA DATE MEME DE L'EPOPEE. Le résultat final — et fatal — fut que les événements réels, les héros en chair et en os, chantés par ladite épopée, furent considérés comme de pures réminiscences livresques ou littéraires, dues à l'auteur ou au remanieur le plus tardif, et appelées à

donner aux inventions poétiques d'un littérateur un certain coloris pseudo-historique.

Toutes ces "subtilités," je serais tenté de dire, ces "malices de cabinet," étaient en parfaite contradiction avec ce que nous savons de l'origine et de la vie des cantilènes épiques chez tous les peuples du globe. L'association d'un don génial de rapprochement et de conjecture avec une vaste érudition dans le domaine de l'histoire et des littératures médiévales a permis à H. Grégoire de réhabiliter le caractère historique des épopées byzantine, française et germanique, et de démontrer, d'une manière définitive, leur proximité des événements, leurs attaches avec l'époque qu'elles célèbrent et dans laquelle, malgré qu'on en ait, elles plongent bien avant leurs racines,[1] leurs rapports avec le milieu, le cadre géographique, historique, politique que la tradition leur assigne. Parmi les investigateurs qui ont stimulé, provoqué, enrichi les fécondes recherches du savant belge, une place d'honneur appartient, sans doute, aux folkloristes et comparatistes russes, notamment à l'illustre Veselovskij;[2] mais la méthode de l'analyse historique est due au souvenir et à l'exemple du maître historien belge, Godefroid Kurth, de Menendez Pidal, des Anglais J. B. Bury et Brooks, du Vasiliev de *Byzance et les Arabes*. Cette méthode se distingue par une grande prudence et une dextérité toute professionnelle; en particulier, l'"approche fonctionnelle" qui domine la science contemporaine, a permis à H. Grégoire d'éviter les erreurs naïves commises, parfois, par les anciens représentants de l'école historique, qui cherchaient dans l'épopée des "procès-verbaux historiques," des séries d'événements mécaniquement enregistrés, oubliant le rôle décisif que jouent les intentions des auteurs, artistes et publicistes préoccupés de leur "art" et surtout de leur "public" et de ses goûts.

H. Grégoire n'a pas encore écrit le livre de synthèse qu'il pourrait aisément nous donner, s'il n'estimait que sa vaste enquête sur les faits épiques est loin d'être terminée. Mais ses principales thèses apparaissent déjà avec précision dans ses nombreuses et brillantes études épiques. L'Europe chrétienne, suivant ses exposés pénétrants, a "subi" deux grands vagues de création épique: la première à l'époque des invasions barbares (Ve au VIIIe siècles), la seconde au temps de la formation des Etats européens (IXe au XIIe siècles). C'est surtout cette dernière époque qui se caractérise par la fixation de l'épopée sur parchemin.

Sans aucun doute, les investigateurs de l'épopée chez les divers peuples de l'Europe et dans les régions limitrophes tireront le plus grand profit des intuitions et des découvertes d'Henri Grégoire. De nouveaux horizons se découvrent devant l'explorateur de l'épopée slave. Il est de fait que les seuls "terroirs épiques" en Europe et en Asie Mineure Chrétienne, sont les régions où, à travers les âges, a duré la guerre sainte contre des envahisseurs infidèles: chez les Grecs byzantins et chez les Arméniens, chez les Slaves des Balkans, chez les Russes et le Ukrainiens, nous trouvons, en effet, une tradition épique orale, le dernier ressac de cette "seconde vague épique," ou si l'on veut, un dernier reflet de cette seconde période épique dont l'un des thèmes centraux était la défense contre l'invasion des infidèles.

On avait conjecturé, depuis longtemps, l'existence de liens étroits entre l'épopée gréco-byzantine et l'épopée slave. Mais c'est seulement depuis les travaux fondamentaux d'Henri Grégoire que ce qui était un problème devient une acquisition, concrète et solide, de notre discipline.

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[1] H. Grégoire ne s'est pas contenté, bien entendu, d'insister sur ces vérités chères à son maître direct, Godefroid Kurth, auteur de l'*Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens*. Il a exploré aussi les couches les plus récentes et trouvé notamment, dans l'épisode de Baligant de la *Chanson de Roland*, tout un tableau ethnographique de l'Europe sud-orientale vers 1085.

[2] Qui lui fut signalé — comme beaucoup d'autres grands Russes — par un homme auquel M. Henri Grégoire proclame presque quotidiennement qu'il "doit le meilleur de lui-même": le R. P. Paul Peeters, aujourd'hui président de la Société des Bollandistes.

Dans les études magistrales d'Henri Grégoire, consacrées à l'analyse comparative des versions écrites et orales de l'épopée grecque de Digenis Akritas, tout investigateur de l'épopée slave trouvera une source inépuisable d'instruction et d'"édification." Les versions orales (surtout les plus récentes et les plus fragmentaires), conservent très souvent l'ancienne leçon, parfois beaucoup plus fidèlement que les anciens manuscrits du Roman de Digenis. La même conclusion vaut — et complètement — pour l'épopée russe, par exemple, pour les légendes du prince Vseslav de Polock dans les bylines conservées jusqu'à ce jour, et dans la littérature du XIIe siècle.

Particulièrement instructives pour l'histoire de l'épopée russe sont les récentes, et très minutieuses, recherches d'Henri Grégoire sur ces textes russes des XVIe-XVIIIe siècles qui reflètent, semble-t-il[3] deux traductions différentes du Digenis, faites toutes deux dans l'ancienne Russie de Kiev, et à bien des égards beaucoup plus archaïques que n'importe laquelle des recensions grecques parvenues jusqu'à nous.

Le monument fameux de l'épopée russe du XIIe siècle, le *Slovo o polku Igorevě* se place ainsi, de plus en plus, dans le cadre littéraire qui lui convient. Dans le travail collectif de l'*Institut d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientales et Slaves,* qui a si merveilleusement "relayé," propagé en ce pays, et "retransmis" de New York à travers le monde, le rayonnement de la brillante Ecole de Bruxelles — dans ce travail collectif de trois ans, sur le *Slovo* (1943-1946), c'est encore Grégoire qui a marqué la place de ce remarquable monument dans la tradition épique mondiale, qui a saisi son style allusif et bien posé le problème de Boyan (qu'on rapproche de ses prophéties les oracles de Nicétas Choniate!). Et c'est lui encore qui nous a assigné ces deux tâches urgentes 1) établir avec toute la rigueur possible la nature des rapports existant entre le *Slovo* et l'épopée orale, 2) étudier les relations du *Slovo* avec la littérature byzantine.[4]

Vsevolod Miller, le chef de file des folkloristes russes, a bien montré quel éclatant reflet la Russie de Moscou a laissé dans l'épopée orale. Le disciple de Vsevolod Miller, Šambinago, préoccupé de "renforcer" — du moins c'était son idée — la thèse de son maître, émit l'hypothèse (qu'il abandonna bientôt, du reste) qu'en général les bylines russes ne sont pas plus vieilles que le XVIe siècle. Vingt ans plus tard, le Français André Mazon et le Polonais Krzyżanowski réitérèrent, sans preuves nouvelles, la vieille conjecture de Šambinago. Cependant l'étude de la langue et du vers des bylines y découvre des traits du plus profond archaïsme, et de plus en plus clairement se révèle l'intime connexion qui existe entre les thèmes des bylines et l'histoire de l'ancienne Russie de Kiev.

Ce ne sont pas seulement les péripéties diverses de la domination tatare, c'est aussi l'époque précédente, pleine de grandeur et de crises, qui trouve son expression dans la tradition orale russe. L'histoire de cette tradition: tel était le rêve de Vsevolod Miller. Ni lui, ni personne ne l'a réalisé. Seuls les principes et la méthode d'Henri Grégoire permettront d'écrire cette histoire, qui dès à présent doit être remise à l'ordre du jour des recherches collectives sur l'épopée médiévale. Est-il téméraire d'espérer que les travaux si fructueusement inaugurés à New York seront poursuivis, par des spécialistes de divers domaines, sous la direction stimulante d'Henri Grégoire? Ainsi conduites, ces recherches, internationales dans tous les sens, combleraient plus d'une lacune dans l'histoire du Moyen Age, ainsi que dans l'étude comparée des littératures et des traditions populaires.

ROMAN JAKOBSON

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[3] M. Henri Grégoire se sépare sur ce point de feu Speranskij, le dernier spécialiste russe de la question, qui ne disposait pas encore, comme le savant belge, de toutes les recensions byzantines, et qui n'avait pas, comme lui, la clef du problème épique byzantin.

[4] On verra dans notre publication collective, consacrée au *Slovo,* comment nous avons abordé ces deux tâches.

HENRI GREGOIRE AND ERNEST HONIGMANN, MY MASTERS!

It was, I think, Toynbee who wrote of the "stimulus of migration," and more particularly, of the "stimulus of migration across the sea." I am not sure that he did not mention the Philistines in this connection. But I am sure that those of whom I am now writing are no Philistines and that they need no stimulation.

Professor Henri Grégoire and Professor Honigmann add to the long list of distinguished refugees who, having found asylum in this country, have conspicuously benefitted the land of their refuge by their presence and by their activities. In the bibliographies which follow there is evidence enough how very active these two scholars have been, and how outstanding have been their accomplishments. But not all work takes form in articles: the *Ecole Libre* and all its ramifications are in large measure their creations.

Nor will trace be found in bibliographies of their personal qualities — of their courage, their kindness, of the vitalizing, the startling ebullience of the one, of the gentle shyness of the other, those human and charming (for Professor Grégoire's "startling ebullience" is in fact charming) characteristics which have endeared them to us. It was no mean achievement on their part to display these qualities at a time when they were subjected to material hardships and to the greatest possible anxiety and distress on behalf both of their families and of their countries. The bread of exile is proverbially bitter; these men must have found it so, but they sweetened it for themselves and for others by the qualities which they brought with them.

(Perhaps this is the place for me to explain why I feel entitled to write this dedication. I had the privilege of sitting under Professor Grégoire in the first course he gave at the *Ecole Libre*. The pearls of his scholarship were not for me, but he mingled them with some most excellent corn. This — if I may transform myself from a pig into a field — took root, and grew into a warm friendship between pupil and teacher. Through him, I also came to know Professor Honigmann and to admire him.)

A third exile, accompanying Professor Grégoire, has honored our country by its presence during the war years. Three most distinguished volumes of *Byzantion* (vols. XV, XVI, and XVII) have been published here. The eminent review will have no reason to feel ashamed of the standard which it maintained in this country, with the collaboration of American scholarship, during the war.

Now that two of our exiles — Professor Grégoire and *Byzantion* — are about to return to their native Belgium, they have had the kindly and, let us hope, fruitful thought of founding *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* as a memorial of their stay and as a channel for continuing intercourse. In that sense, all issues of the new periodical will be *Festschriften* in honor of Professor Grégoire, but more specifically it is fitting that the first volume of *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* should be a *Festschrift* both to thank him for all that he has accomplished here, and to wish him more long years of fruitful activity in his own country.

Professor Honigmann, no less than Professor Grégoire an ornament of the Belgian school of Byzantine studies, shares with him the dedication of this volume. I am happy to say, though, that he remains to encourage and to guide us, I hope for many years to come.

Whether in Europe or in America, may Professor Grégoire and Professor Honigmann keep alive and warm the associations they have formed here during these years! In expressing this wish, I am sure that I speak not only for myself, but for all who have contributed to this *Festschrift* or had to do with its publication. And this not only for personal reasons. It is appropriate that the Belgian school of Byzantine studies should take a particular interest in

the progress of those studies in Nova Belgica, and all the more, since learning knows no boundaries, that the Belgian school should wish to see learning flourish in a region which bids fair to become the permanent seat of the administration of the United Nations, the new capital of the world.

CHARLES HENRY COSTER

Warwick, N.Y.

NOTE PRELIMINAIRE A LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE HENRI GREGOIRE

Regardez cette bibliographie: Euripide y voisine avec le *Dit d'Igor,* Napoléon avec Michel III l'Ivrogne . . . et la Pologne; et d'une étude *Sur la Vie anonyme de S. Gérasime* on passe aux origines du nom de Californie. On serait tenté de se récrier sur tant de *versatilité* (au sens français plus encore qu'au sens anglais), d'exorciser le démon de la Polymathie, ou puisque nous sommes encore en Amérique, de dire: "Dieu, quel "Quiz-Professor"! Mais interrogez n'importe quelle autorité en matière d'études slaves, et vous apprendrez que dans ces études auxquelles il n'est pas venu très jeune, Henri Grégoire est passé maître. Tout helléniste, tout byzantiniste citera le même savant parmi "les meilleurs noms," comme disait Henri Heine (l'un de ses favoris). Tout Russe, tout Polonais, admire ses traductions en vers de Pouchkine, de Lermontov, d'Alexis Tolstoï, de Blok et d'Essenine, de Mickiewicz de Slovacki (il a même traduit *Le Roseau murmurateur* de Tioutchev). Le Grecs le regardent comme l'un des leurs. Ce connaisseur incontesté du Moyen Age français qu'est Gustave Cohen a dit récemment aux lecteurs de *Renaissance* quelle est l'importance des travaux de Henri Grégoire touchant la *Chanson de Roland* (il ajouterait aujourd'hui: et la *Chanson de Guillaume*). J'ai entendu de la bouche du juge le plus compétent et le plus sévère en cette matière le souhait que H. G. continue son *Recueil d'Inscriptions Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* et le regret qu'il se "disperse," je suis sûr que les maîtres de plusieurs autres disciplines voudraient, eux aussi, monopoliser l'activité de notre Président!

En vérité, l'oeuvre de celui qui n'est polygraphe que d'apparence présente une belle unité! D'abord et surtout H. G. est helléniste, c'est à dire connaisseur de la langue grecque. Or, cette langue, qui commence pour nous avec Homère, vit toujours. Rien n'est plus faux que la classer parmi les langues dites mortes. Dans ses nuits d'insomnie H. G. relit les aventures d'Ulysse, mais chaque matin le courrier lui apporte les deux grands quotidiens grecs de New York. H. G. connaît, étudie et aime non seulement une "tranche" du grec, mais le grec tout entier, d'Homère à Vénizélos ou, si vous préférez, George II. Ne vous étonnez donc pas en trouvant dans sa bibliographie, à côté d'études sur Euripide, des notes sur le grec moderne dans Aristophane, sur les mots français en grec, et des recherches sur les chansons populaires d'aujourd'hui, de naguère et de jadis. H. G. a écrit sur l'utilité du grec moderne pour l'intelligence des classiques. Mais dans ce recueil, on voudrait plutôt souligner que Henri Grégoire est à l'aise dans le grec byzantin et moderne parce qu'il sait éditer Euripide et examiner Hérodote. Espérons que son oeuvre convaincra les Grecs d'aujourd'hui de l'actualité des classiques. C'est un étrange paradoxe que la littérature grecque classique soit étudiée partout, sauf à Athènes.

On lira dans la notice biographique comment un livre de Schlumberger et, ne l'oublions pas, la guerre turco-grecque de 1897, ont tourné l'attention de H. G. vers les choses de Byzance. Officiellement, H. G. est Byzantiniste. Un de ses travaux importants est la "réhabilitation" de l'Empereur Michel III l'Ivrogne. Je n'ai rien contre l'ivrognerie, couronnée ou non, mais n'oublions pas que la force de H. G. est surtout dans les recherches limitrophes où l'histoire byzantine s'entremêle avec les événements des autres pays (ce fut le cas sous Michel III, qui baptisa les Bulgares et repoussa les Russes). C'est précisément cette universalité qui distingue la Grèce byzantine de la Grèce

classique. Celle-ci vit dans l'isolement spirituel — isolement splendide, il est vrai, mais isolement. Deucalion, qui est le Noé des Grecs, est le père des seuls Hellènes. Byzance est chrétienne, et comme telle, a pris de la Bible juive l'unité du genre humain. Ainsi, le Byzantiniste est attiré insensiblement vers d'autres horizons. Pourtant, que H. G. s'en aille chez les Chazares de la Volga ou soit poussé vers les pays des Normands, son port d'attache reste Constantinople. S'il écrit dans le premier numéro d'une nouvelle revue arménienne, c'est parce qu'il y montre les origines arméniennes de la glorieuse dynastie d'Héraclius. Lisez avec un peu attention les études les plus "extravagantes" de H. G.: s'il s'égare à travers toute l'Europe, c'est parce que telle était l'étendue du rayonnement de Byzance. Son premier article sur l'épopée occidentale porte ce titre significatif: "La Chanson de Roland et Byzance, ou de l'utilité du grec pour les Romanistes."

Dans la civilisation byzantine, ce sont les choses de l'esprit qui intéressent surtout H. G. On a vu une histoire savante (ou plutôt pédante) du Bas-Empire, où le Christianisme était négligé pour donner plus de place à telle ou telle variation dans la structure de la bureaucratie. H. G. a consacré une belle part de son activité scientifique au Christianisme byzantin. Ici se place sa fameuse découverte touchant la conversion de Constantin, une découverte qui, reçue d'abord avec mauvais humeur par les traditionalistes comme par les rationalistes, s'impose comme évidente et a trouvé sa confirmation dans les études des spécialistes du monnayage byzantin, comme Schoenebeck, dont le travail suit pas à pas la reconstruction historique d'Henri Grégoire, en commençant par la réhabilitation de Maxence! De cette trouvaille de Grégoire, comme de beaucoup d'autres, on dit déjà, suprême éloge: "Mais on savait cela depuis longtemps!"

Mais l'esprit de Byzance n'est pas tout entier dans les querelles dogmatiques des intellectuels. C'est le grand mérite de H. G. d'avoir découvert la place historique de l'épopée byzantine. Mais ici nous pouvons renvoyer à l'article cité de Gustave Cohen. Disons seulement, pour souligner, encore une fois, l'unité de l'oeuvre de H. G., que ses recherches sur l'épopée occidentale, qui l'ont amené à s'occuper même du roi Teutobochus et d'Anatole France, ne sont que la continuation et un complément nécessaire de ses études sur Digénis Akritas.

Mais, que H. G. traite de Teutobochus ou de Michel III l'Ivrogne, deux particularités caractérisent son travail. D'abord, c'est le sens aigu de la langue, que cette langue soit le russe ou le français, ensuite c'est le sens de l'évidence. Sa philosophie, aime-t-il à dire, c'est l'Evidentialisme. Je ne citerai ici qu'un seul exemple, très simple, dont l'intelligence n'exige nul commentaire. Tout le monde sait qu'Alcibiade fut condamné pour un acte sacrilège, et tout le monde répète qu'il a "parodié" les mystères d'Eleusis. Dans une note (préparée avec le concours de son élève R. Goossens), parue pendant la guerre, H. G. établit que les textes grecs authentiques disent seulement qu'Alcibiade "fit célébrer les mystères chez lui." Donc, il ne s'agit pas d'une sorte de "messe noire," comme on se l'imaginait jusqu'ici. Alcibiade a simplement imité à domicile la cérémonie sacrée. Pourquoi? Dans quel but? C'est encore une question à résoudre. Mais l'observation de H. G. est simple et évidente. Telle quelle, elle change toute la position du problème.

N'imaginons pas que H. G. soit infaillible. Il se trompe parfois, mais moins souvent que tout le monde. Par exemple, son étymologie du mot *caballus*, qui apparaît si séduisante, semblait réfutée par des recherches nouvelles. Mais voilà qu'on la soutient en Amérique. Sa pensée étant trop rapide, il est impatient dans ses recherches . . . et aussi comme examinateur. Vous pouvez ajouter qu'il n'y a presque personne, même parmi ses amis, qui ne se soit au moins une fois brouillé avec H. G. Et pourtant ce violent a un charme puissant dans le sens original de ce mot, une influence magique qui ramène vers lui même ceux qui s'en sont éloignés. Quel est ce charme? Pour le comprendre, ouvrez n'importe quel article de H. G., même le plus technique. Qu'il s'exprime par la plume ou de vive voix, on ne s'ennuie jamais avec H. G. On oublie le temps dans sa présence physique ou spirituelle. Y a-t-il beaucoup de savants, beaucoup d'hommes (sans parler des femmes) à qui conviendrait cet éloge?

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SUR LE ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙΣΜΑ

De toutes les chansons populaires encore chantées en Grèce, celle dont l'existence est le plus anciennement attestée est sans doute la *chanson de l'hirondelle.* Maintes fois déjà on a signalé la parenté frappante du χελιδόνισμα rhodien cité par Athénée (VIII 60) et des chansons de quête modernes du retour du printemps.

Par une chance exceptionnelle on possède même, excluant l'hypothèse d'une simple coïncidence, un maillon intermédiaire de la chaîne qui les réunit. Nous voulons parler de la chanson de quête chantée par les écoliers de Rome à la Mi-Carême et consignée, au XII^e^ siècle, par Benoît, chanoine de Saint Pierre de Rome, dans son *Liber Politicus.*

Ce texte, noté en caractères latins, a déjà exercé la sagacité des érudits. Nous voudrions tenter, à l'aide des versions modernes du χελιδόνισμα, d'nterpréter certains vers demeurés obscurs.

* * *

Le recueil du chanoine Benoît nous a été conservé par deux manuscrits, l'un du XII^e^ siècle de la bibliothèque de Cambrai, l'autre du XV^e^ de la Vallicelliane à Rome. Leurs éditeurs, Paul Fabre[1] et Vincenzo Tommasini,[2] ont l'un et l'autre utilement contribué à la lecture du fragment qui nous intéresse et qu'ils ont transcrit en caractères grecs. Krumbacher,[3] Paul Maas,[4] Nicolas Politis,[5] l'ont successivement étudié. Ce dernier en a très exactement indiqué le caractère dans les lignes suivantes:

"... Les mscr. offrent le texte incomplet et tronqué d'un χελιδόνισμα ou *ode au printemps,* contaminé par des fragments d'autres

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[1] Paul Fabre, *Le polyptyque du chanoine Benoît,* Travaux et Mémoires des Facultés de Lille, Tome I, Mémoire No. 3, Lille, 1889.

[2] V. Tommasini, *Sulle laudi greche conservate nel Liber Politicus del canonico Benedetto,* in: Scritti vari di Filologia a Ernesto Monaci, Roma, 1901, pp. 377-386.

[3] Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byz. Litteratur,* II, pp. 256-257. K. K., c.r. de l'étude de V. Tommasini, in: B. Z. XI (1902), pp. 586-588.

[4] Paul Maas, *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner,* in: B. Z. XXI (1912), pp. 43-45.

[5] Ν. Γ. Πολίτου, Δημώδη βυζαντινὰ ᾄσματα, in: Λαογραφία III (1912), pp. 645-650.

chants analogues, dont quelques-uns se combinent également avec le χελιδόνισμα proprement dit dans des versions modernes de la chanson. ... Le caractère fragmentaire de ces différents chants, qui ne sont joints que par des liens très lâches et restent pour la plupart incompréhensibles s'ils ne sont complétés et expliqués par des versions populaires modernes, confrère à ce texte l'aspect d'une totale incohérence." [6]

L'un des fragments les plus homogènes est le début d'un *acrostiche alphabétique,* qui fait partie du χελιδόνισμα proprement dit. Pour la lettre Δ, la meilleure transcription est celle de Fabre, le premier éditeur:

Διὰ ὕδωρ καὶ πηλὸ[ν] [7]	Avec de l'eau et de l'argile
πύργον οἰκοδόμησα.	j'ai bâti un mas.[8]

Politis a déjà noté que ce πύργος réapparaît dans des chansons modernes.[9] Ajoutons que le verbe οἰκοδόμησα, qui dans le grec populaire a été éliminé par ἔχτισα, est sans doute à l'origine de la forme ἐκονόμησε que présente une version de l'île de Nisyros, sur laquelle nous reviendrons:

Καλαντίρα πέρασε,	La calandre a passé,
κ' ἔκατσε καὶ λάλησε	s'est perchée et a chanté
καὶ πύργον ἐκονόμησε.[10]	et s'est procuré un mas.

Les deux versiculets correspondant à la lettre A sont certainement eux aussi placés dans la bouche — le bec — de l'hirondelle. Les mscr. les donnent comme suit:

Basilia. Ysida. Palino. de parinu. (Cambrai 512)
Basilia adisa. palino cheparum. (Vallic. F 73)

P. Maas a bien lu le second:

πάλιν ὧδε πάρειμι.	Je suis de nouveau ici.

[6] *Ib.* p. 646-7.

[7] P. Maas transcrit: Δ ὗ. κ. πηλοῦ, en se basant sur les mscr. qui, d'après Tommasini (Fabre, lui, donne: kepila), ont tous deux: kepilu. Mais, ailleurs encore, un *u* des mscr. correspond à un son *o* du grec: v. 70 to cosmu (τῷ κόσμῳ). La lecture de Maas implique une double construction de διὰ qui nous paraît insoutenable.

[8] Le mot désigne une tour, une maison de campagne fortifiée, ici le nid de l'hirondelle.

[10] S. Baud-Bovy, *Chansons du Dodécanèse,* 2 vol., Athènes, 1935-1938, T. II, p. 182.

[9] o.c., p. 649.

Quant au premier, qu'il a renoncé à transcrire, et que Tommasini interprétait:

Βασιλία <σ'> εἴσειδα,

je propose de le lire:

Βασιλέα[11] εἴσειδα.	J'ai rendu visite au roi.

On trouve une juxtaposition toute semblable dans des versions modernes:

Θάλασσαν ἐπέρασα,	J'ai traversé la mer,
τὴν στεριὰν δὲν ξέχασα.[12]	je n'ai pas oublié la terre ferme.

La version médiévale y ajoute une nuance de flatterie, tout à fait à sa place dans une chanson de quête. Ne laisse-t-elle pas entendre aux maîtres de céans que leur demeure a plus d'attrait pour l'hirondelle que le palais même de l'empereur? Une chanson de quête de Carysto (Eubée), qui, tout comme la chanson romaine, se chante à la Mi-Carême, garde d'ailleurs un souvenir de cette visite au roi:

Ἡμεῖς οἱ τρεῖς, οἱ τέσσαρες	Nous les trois, les quatre,
καὶ ἄλλ' εἰκοσιτέσσαρες,	les vingt-quatre autres aussi
τὴν πόλιν ἐγυρίσαμεν,	avons parcouru la Ville (Constantinople)
τὴν πόλιν τὴν μητρόπολιν,	la Ville, la métropole,
τὸν βασιλιὰ δὲν εἴδαμεν.[13]	*nous n'avons pas vu le roi.*

La négation pourrait bien ne s'être introduite dans ce dernier vers que pour compenser la syllabe perdue par le passage de βασιλέα à βασιλιά.

* * *

Dans cette chanson de Carysto, ce sont les petits quêteurs eux-mêmes qui prennent la parole. On les trouve également dans la chanson romaine des mscr., et la comparaison avec les versions modernes permet de préciser qu'ils y apparaissent comme des écoliers craignant d'être battus par leur maître si leur quête n'est pas suffisamment fructueuse.

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[11] Le son *e* est fréquemment transcrit par un *i*: v. 22 pantis (πάντες) v. 36 dicapente (δεκαπέντε).

[12] Passow, 307 a.

[13] Εὐαγγ. Παπαχατζῆ, «Δοκίμιον γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος Καρύστου καὶ τῶν πέριξ», Athènes, 1915, cité d'après: Δημ. Καλλιγεροπούλου, «Τὰ Κάλανδα ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athènes, 1923, p. 71.

Nous pensons qu'ils figurent aussi dans deux vers qui, jusqu'ici, sont restés rebelles à une transcription. Ces vers sont placés entre des voeux adressés aux maîtres du logis et une apostrophe au mois de février, invité à céder sa place à mars. Nous les considérons comme sans aucun rapport avec ces deux fragments et comme un vestige isolé d'un contexte que les versions modernes nous permettent de reconstituer.

Mais reproduisons d'abord le texte des manuscrits:

Timisuntes colites. Oscheinus. Manthanone. (Cambrai 512)
Tunsuntes colires oschemus manthanone. (Vallic. F 73)

P. Fabre lisait:

... σὺν ταῖς ... λίταις
. . . . . .

et Tommasini:

τιμήσοντες, πολῖται,
. . . . . μανθάνομε<ν>.

Maas, lui, plutôt que de proposer un texte inintelligible, s'est abstenu de transcrire ce passage.

Pour nous, nous considérons le T comme une faute de lecture, et nous supposons que les mscr. doivent avoir en réalité un Y majuscule.[14] S'il en est bien ainsi, on est amené à lire:

Ἡμεῖς[15] ὄντες[16] σχολητές,[17]	Nous, étant des écoliers,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς[18] μανθάνομε ...	nous apprenons, nous aussi ...

Quelle était la suite de ce fragment, les versions modernes nous l'apprennent. Voici, par exemple, un passage du χελιδόνισμα aujourd'hui encore chanté à Sianna, dans l'île de Rhodes:

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[14] Déjà Krumbacher insistait sur la nécessité de posséder des facsimile des mscr. pour les transcrire avec certitude (B. Z. XI, 588).

[15] C'est toujours un *y* qui, dans les mscr. transcrit l' η du pronom personnel: v. 52 eleyson ymas (ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς), v. 77 otheosymon (ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν).

[16] Nous avons déjà rencontré le son *o* noté par un *u* (voir note 7).

[17] L'haplographie du *s* se trouve aussi au v. 60 du mscr. de Cambrai: tus. machitasu (τοὺς μαθητάς σου).

[18] Tommasini a expressément indiqué (o.c., p. 382, n. 5) que l'absence de point sur certains *i* ne permettait pas de déterminer avec certitude s'il fallait lire "tunsuntes" ou "timsuntes," "oscheinus" ou "oschemus." Sur la base du Vallic., notre lecture: "Ymisuntes" et "oscheimis" respecte très exactement le nombre des jambages.

Μάρτη, Μάρτη μου καλέ,	Mars, mon bon Mars,
καὶ 'Απρίλη θαυμαστέ,	et toi, admirable Avril,
ὅσοι μεῖς οἱ μαθητὲς	nous tous qui sommes élèves
μαθημένοι εἴμεστε	avons été exercés
ν' ἀγοράζουμεν ἑφτά,	à acheter à sept,
νὰ πουλοῦμεν δεκαεφτά ...[19]	à vendre à dix-sept ...

Moins clair, mais plus intéressant encore est un autre texte de chanson de quête, du Magne celui-là:

Μάρτη ἄξιε καὶ καλέ,	Mars digne et bon,
καὶ σκληρὲ καὶ δυνατέ,	et rude et puissant,
τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ σοφιές,	les sagesses de l'instruction,
τῶν Σχολίτων οἱ χαρές.	les joies des écoliers.
'Ως κ' ἡμεῖς οἱ μαθηταὶ ...	Nous aussi, les élèves ...
... ν' ἀγοράζωμεν ἑφτά,	... à acheter à sept,
νὰ πωλοῦμεν δεκαφτά,	à vendre à dix-sept,
διαφορίζομ' εἴκοσι.[20]	nous y gagnons vingt.

Bien évidemment, il faut rétablir entre les vers 5 et 6 le vers 4 de la version rhodienne:

μαθημένοι εἴμαστε ...	avons été exercés ...

On remarquera non seulement l'analogie du einquième vers avec le texte des mscr., mais aussi et surtout ce mot de Σχολίτης, qui n'est attesté dans aucun des dictionnaires que nous avons sous la main, mais qui réapparaît encore quelques vers plus loin:

Δὸς τοῦ Μάρτη πέντ' αὐγά,	Donne cinq oeufs à Mars
καὶ τοῦ Σχολίτη τέσσερα.	et quatre à l'écolier.

On peut évidemment hésiter dans la transcription entre les formes σχολῖτες (ou σχολῖται) et σχολητές (ou σχοληταί). La première, attestée par la chanson moderne, a l'inconvénient de détruire le rythme trochaïque; la seconde pourrait être due à l'analogie de μαθηταί, φοιτηταί.

Quoi qu'il en soit, nous pensons que la comparaison de notre

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[19] 'Α. Βρόντη, «Τῆς Ρόδου παραδόσεις καὶ τραγούδια», Rhodes, 1930, p. 97. Nous avons recueilli la même chanson avec la variante: μαθηταί (Baud-Bovy, o.c., I, 73, 21).

[20] Nous emprutons ce texte à Καλλιγεροπούλου, o.c., p. 77. Il n'en indique pas la provenance, mais N. Politis (*Laographia*, III, 649) cite les deux vers: τῶν γραμμάτων οἱ σοφαῖς / τῶν σχολίτων οἱ χαραῖς, comme appartenant à une chanson de Magne publiée dans la revue Πανδώρα, vol. Κ', p. 112, celle-là sans doute que reproduit Kalligeropoulos.

transcription et des versions modernes de la même chanson donne une force singulière à notre hypothèse.

* * *

Au cours de nos voyages d'étude dans le Dodécanèse, la seule province grecque que nous ayons exporée personnellement, nous n'avons retrouvé de restes du χελιδόνισμα qu'à Nisyros et à Rhodes.

Mais alors que dans le petit village montagnard de Sianna (Rhodes), il se chante toujours le 1er mars, à quelques kilomètres de là, à Salako, comme à Nisyros, il se rattache à la quête de la Saint Lazare, le samedi qui précède la Semaine Sainte.

On sait que les conciles, en particulier le concile *in Trullo* de 691, ont vainement tenté de mettre fin aux pratiques païennes, aux "calendes" en particulier: tout ce que l'Eglise a pu faire, c'est de camoufler ces traditions persistantes en les rattachant à quelque fête chrétienne.

La Saint Lazare se prêtait mieux que toute autre fête à absorber les chants qui célèbrent le retour des beaux jours. N'est-elle pas voisine de l'équinoxe de printemps? n'a-t-elle pas lieu la veille du dimanche des *Rameaux*? enfin, préfigurant la Résurrection du Seigneur, ne fête-t-elle pas elle aussi une résurrection, parfois, comme en Chypre,[21] avec une mise en scène qui évoque irrésistiblement les fêtes d'Adonis?

A Nisyros, les paroles des *calendes* de Lazare et celles du χελιδόνισμα restent distinctes. C'est dans un accessoire de la fête qu'une contamination s'est produite.

Le samedi de Lazare en effet, les enfants de Mandraki, le chef-lieu de l'île, se divisent en deux groupes. Les cadets, des rameaux verts dans les mains, vont quêter de maison en maison, en chantant des calendes en langue savante:

Ἡ Βηθανία σήμερον θαῦμά τι προκηρύττει ...
Béthanie aujourd'hui proclame un miracle ...

Pendant ce temps, les plus grands parcourent les ruelles blanches de la petite ville en portant la καλαντίρα, une construction de bois représentant le tombeau de Lazare, sur laquelle pivote un oiseau. Lorsque les petits quêteurs croisent aux carrefours le cortège de leurs aînés, ils adressent à la καλαντίρα les versiculets suivants:

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[21] Magda H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, Berlin, 1913, pp.86-90.

Καλαντίρα πέρασε,	La calandre a passé,
κ' ἔκατσε καὶ λάλησε,	s'est perchée et a chanté,
καὶ πύργον ἐκονόμησε.	et s'est procuré un mas.
Κι ὅποιος δὲ μᾶς δίει αὐγό,	Quiconque ne nous donne un oeuf,
μέσα ψύλλος καὶ κοριός,	chez lui, la puce et la punaise,
καὶ μεγάλος, φοβερός.	et grande, terrible.
Κι ὡς τὴν ἄλλη Κυριακή,	Et jusqu'au dimanche suivant
τρῶμε κόκκινο αὐγό.[22]	nous mangeons l'oeuf rouge.

On voit le caractère composite de ce rite.

D'une part, la chanson de Lazare, d'origine ecclésiastique, racontant le miracle de sa Résurrection, avec comme accessoire un cénotaphe analogue à celui où, le Vendredi Saint, on exposera l'étoffe sacrée représentant le Christ au tombeau.

Et de l'autre, un vestige du χελιδόνισμα, non plus chanté, mais récité rythmiquement, avec, pour accessoire, un oiseau aux ailes munies de clochettes, comparable à la corneille (κορώνη) des quêteurs antiques, mentionnée par Athénée, et qu'on retrouve en différentes provinces de Grèce pour accompagner les quêtes du renouveau.

Quant à l'oiseau désigné par ce nom de καλαντίρα, nous pensons que ce doit être la καλάνδρα (καλιάντρα ou γαλιάντρα), une sorte d'alouette répandue dans tout le bassin méditerranéen et renommée pour son chant. Si son apparition n'est pas aussi caractéristique du retour du printemps que celle de l'hirondelle, son nom du moins la prédestinait à patronner les κάλαντα des petits quêteurs.

* * *

A Salako (Rhodes), le χελιδόνισμα est incorporé à la chanson même de Lazare. Il n'a d'aillleurs gardé que peu de traces du χελιδόνισμα primitif et n'est même pas resté fidèle à son rythme, remplaçant l'heptasyllabe trochaïque par l'octosyllabe ïambique:

Τὸ χελιδόνι πέπεται,[23]	... L'hirondelle s'envole,
πάει καὶ πάλιν ἔρχεται,	s'en va et revient,

[22] Baud-Bovy, o.c., II, 182.

[23] Nous respectons le texte de notre informateur et indiquons dans notre traduction le sens qu'il donnait lui-même à ce mot. Cette forme semble être un compromis entre le πέτεται que présente la variante publiée par Γεῳ. Δ. Δρακίδου, Ῥοδιακά, Athènes, 1937, p. 17, et le πέμπεται de la version reproduite par M. Anastasiadis dans l'article de la Φόρμιγξ cité ci- dessous.

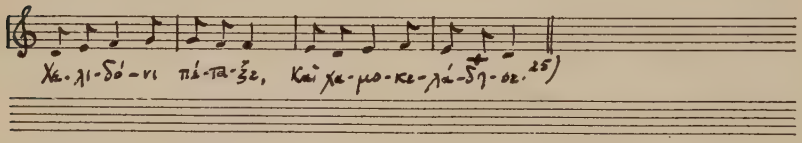
καὶ τραγουδεῖ καὶ χαίρεται,
καὶ φέρνει μας τὸ μήνυμα
πὼς εἶναι ἄνοιξις καιροῦ
καὶ ἄρχισις καλοκαιριοῦ.
Καὶ σεῖς ποὺ μᾶς ἀκούετε
καὶ λέγομεν τὴν φήμην του,
νὰ μᾶς πληρώσετ' ἀκριβά,
'κοσάρια, γρόσια καὶ αὐγά,

ὄχι ἀπὸ ἕνα κι ἀπὸ δυό,
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἕξι κι ἀπ' ὀχτώ,
τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν νά 'ρτωμε,
μὲ ὑγείαν νὰ σᾶς εὕρωμε,
στοὺς οἴκους σας χαρούμενοι
τὸν Λάζαρον νὰ ποῦ—με.[24]

et chante et se réjouit,
et nous apporte le message
que c'est l'ouverture du temps[23-a]
et le début du beau temps.
Et vous qui nous entendez
célébrer sa mémoire (de Lazare),
il faut nous payer un bon prix,
des pièces de 4 sous, des piastres
et des oeufs,

et non à chacun un ou deux,
mais bien à chacun six ou huit,
que nous revenions l'an prochain
et vous retrouvions en santé,
pour, joyeux, dans vos logis,
vous dire le "Lazare."

A Sianna, par contre, le χελιδόνισμα a gardé son existence indépendante, sa mélodie propre et son rythme caractéristique. Monsieur Anastase Anastasiadis-Vrontis en a le premier signalé l'existence. Voici, transcrite en notation européenne, la version qu'il a donnée de sa mélodie:



Χελιδόνι πέταξε,
ηὗρεν πύργον κ' ἔκατσε,
κ' ἐχαμοκελάδησε:
Μάρτη, Μάρτη μου καλέ,
καὶ 'Απρίλη θαυμαστέ,
ὅσοι μεῖς οἱ μαθητὲς
μαθημένοι εἴμεστε
ν' ἀγοράζουμεν ἑφτά,

Hirondelle s'envola,
trouva mas et se percha
et chanta à demi-voix:
Mars, mon bon Mars,
et toi, admirable Avril,
nous tous qui sommes élèves
avons été exercés
à acheter à sept,

[23-a] L'époque où le temps "s'ouvre," "s'éclaircit," d'où le sens de *printemps* pris par le mot ἄνοιξις.

[24] Baud-Bovy, o.c., I. 79, avec musique notée. Une autre version, du même village, avec la mélodie en notation byzantine, a été publiée antérieurement par 'Αναστ. 'Αναστασιάδης, «Ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔαρος ἐν Ῥόδῳ», dans la Φόρμιγξ, 2e période, année VI, n. 5-6 (16-30 sept. 1910), p. 4.

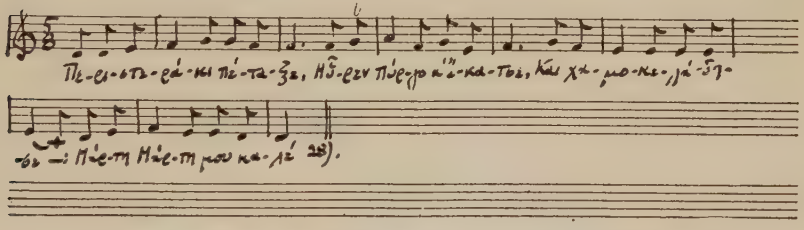
[25] Art. cité de la Φόρμιγξ.

νὰ πουλοῦμεν δεκαεφτά.	à vendre à dix-sept.
Τὸ κρασὶ μὲς στὸ ποτήρι,	Le vin dans le verre,
καὶ τὰ σῦκα στὸ μαντήλι	les figues dans le mouchoir
καὶ τ' αὐγὰ μὲς στὸ καλάθι.	et les oeufs dans le panier.
Δόστε μας τὴν ὄρνιθά μας,	Donnez-nous notre poule,
μὴ μᾶς γέρ' ὁ δάσκαλός μας,	que notre maître ne nous batte pas,
κ' ἔχετε τὸ κρῖμα μας	et que ne retombe sur vous notre crime
καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μας.	et notre péché.
'Ποὺ πάνω 'ποὺ τ' ἀνώφλια σας	Au-dessus de vos linteaux
ἔχει μιὰ περιστέρα.	se trouve une colombe.
'Ανοίξετε τὴν πόρτα σας	Ouvrez votre porte
νὰ ποῦμεν καλησπέρα.[26]	que nous disions bonsoir.

Nous l'avons nous-même notée avec d'insignifiantes différences dans le texte, sauf aux quatre derniers vers, remplacés par ceux-ci, qui rappellent la version de Salako:

Χελιδόνι στέλλομε,	Nous envoyons une hirondelle,
πάει πέρα κ' ἔρχεται,	elle va au loin et revient,
καὶ φέρει μας τὴν εἴδηση	et nous apporte la nouvelle
πὼς εἶναι καλοκαίρι.[27]	que c'est l'été.

Quant à la mélodie, un vieux chanteur du village, de près de 70 ans, nous en a chanté la version suivante:



Or, si l'on compare cette chanson au début du χελιδόνισμα rhodien cité par Athénée, on voit qu'il suffit d'une légère modification

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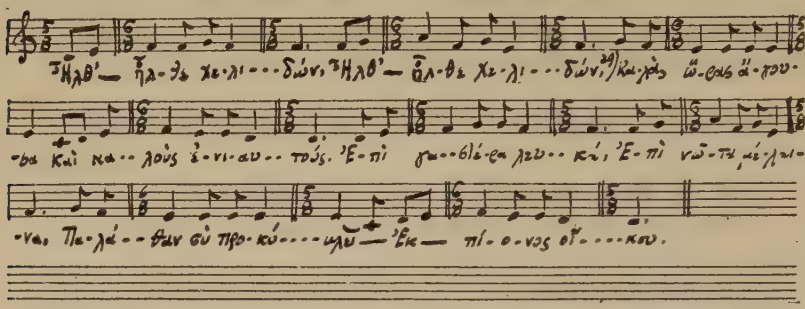
[26] Nous citons le texte d'après un recueil plus récent du même auteur: 'A. Βρόντη, Τῆς Ρόδου παραδόσεις καὶ τραγούδια, Rhodes, 1930, p. 97, en modifiant légèrement l'orthographe et la ponctuation.

[27] Variante inédite.

[28] Baud-Bovy, o.c., I, 73, 21. Au début, le remplacement de l'hirondelle (χελιδόνι) par la *petite colombe* (περιστεράκι) donne un vers hypermètre. La version Vrontis est ici préférable.

de son rythme pour que la mélodie moderne s'applique aux vers anciens en respectant la prosodie autant que le permet la structure strophique inhérente à tout chanson populaire:



Bien entendu, nous n'avons pas la naïveté de penser que le χελιδόνισμα que Cléobule de Lindos passait pour avoir enseigné aux anciens Rhodiens était celui-là même que fournit notre reconstitution. Nous avons simplement voulu rappeler que le passage de la prosodie musicale basée sur la quantité à la prosodie basée sur les accents avait fort bien pu s'effectuer sans heurt et sans rupture de la tradition, et qu'il valait la peine, pour qui veut connaître la Grèce ancienne, d'étudier la Grèce moderne, dans toutes ses manifestations, surtout dans les régions qui, comme le Dodécanèse, ont si fidèlement sauvegardé le patrimoine antique.

Samuel Baud-Bovy

Genève.

[29] Nous avons répété le premier vers, pour ne pas répartir sur deux strophes différentes les deux vers suivants qui sont intimement liés.

NOTE ON THE "MISSING" CONSTITUTIONS IN COD. JUST. VI 61

There are in Justinian's *Code* twenty titles where according to the indications of the best edition of the *Code* by Paul Krüger the final constitutions are lost, as e.g. I 16,2; I 29,6; II 5,2; VI 23, 32; VIII 11, 23, etc. Most of those missing constitutions might have been by Justinian since they had to follow other constitutions of the Emperor, and their language was Greek. The meritorious editor of the *Code*, however, only in a few cases indicates the sources which led him or others to suppose lost constitutions, as, for instance, with regard to I 26,6; I 51,15; III 2,6; III 3,6; IV 20, 21; V 9,11 ff.; X 34, 4-5; X 35, 4-5 — but elsewhere the indications are rather vague and limited to general statements as: *Graeca constitutio excidit (periit, desideratur)* or *Graecam constitutionem excidisse libri testantur* and the like. The purpose of this note is to show with regard to one instance only that the hypothesis that there were constitutions now missing is unfounded in that particular instance. This example makes it necessary to examine how far this hypothesis is justified in the other similar instances, a task which the present writer hopes to achieve at a future date.

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In the small, stereotyped edition of Justinian's *Code* (10th ed., 1929) P. Krüger noted that in the title VI 61 of the *Code*: *De bonis quae liberis in potestate constitutis ex matrimonio vel aliter adquiruntur, et eorum administratione,* the three last constitutions, i.e. cc. 9, 10 and 11 might be lost. No such supposition had been expressed in the large critical edition of the *Code* (1877), where the title in question ends with the c. 8 as preserved in all MSS. of the *Code*. It is only in the later stereotyped editions that a free space has been left for cc. 9-11. There is added, it is true, an interrogation mark, but fortunately a short footnote, no. 3a,[1] reveals the source on which Krüger based his supposition: *in Theodori Nov. 22 c. 36 citatur c. 11 h.t.*

The passage meant by the editor of the *Code* is to be found in a *Basilica* scholium—quoted afterwards as "BS"—by Theodorus, a

[1] The numeration of the note indicates that it is a later addition. I found it already in the 8th ed. of 1906.

post-Justinian legal writer,[2] *ad Bas.* XXVIII 14, 1 (=*Nov.* 22 c. 34) no. 21 in Heimb. III 331. The same scholium is preserved in the Athos MS. of Theodorus' Σύντομος τῶν νεαρῶν διατάξεων edited by E. Zachariae, *Anecdota* (1843), 39. I was not able to find any further remark concerning this text in Krüger's various studies on the *Code*,—thus it must be assumed that this single mention of "Cod. J. VI 61, 11" by Theodorus seemed to him sufficient to infer that this extensive title of the *Code* embraced three further Justinian constitutions of which neither the text nor the contents are known.

Const. VI 61, 11 is however mentioned a second time in the very same passage of Theodorus, a fact that apparently escaped Krüger's attention, since he doubtless would have quoted that source as a further support for his supposition. In the so-called *Tractatus de peculiis*—quoted below as "Pec."—edited by Heimbach Jr., *Anecdota* II (1840), 247 ff., our Theodorus appears again as quoting Cod. VI 61, 11 in sec. 4, (ed. p. 253/4 and also in connection with a comment on Nov. 22 c. 34. This late Byzantine legal treatise of the 10th/11th century has been so far neglected by most of the editors of the Byzantine legal sources, as I shall show in a special study devoted to this monograph.

In spite of these two pieces of evidence, which after all trace back to the same source, I believe for various reasons that the existence of a const. 11, and consequently of the further two intermediary constitutions, 9 and 10, in Cod. VI 61, is more than doubtful, and I should not hesitate to cancel in P. Krüger's edition the respective annotation.

It is well known that the MSS. of Byzantine legal sources, and not only those of the *Basilica* and the scholia to them, contain a lot of erroneous indications in the numerical references to Justinian and other sources. An immense number of citations in Heimbach's edition of the *Basilica* cannot be compared with Justinian's codification, and with the *Basilica* themselves as well, because of erroneous figures. It is therefore amazing that Krüger had so much confidence in the BS mentioned, in spite of his wide experience with those sources, as to assume the existence of as many as three unknown Justinian constitutions in a single title of the *Code*. There are, however, some further considerations which necessitate particular caution in our case.

[2] On Theodorus Scholasticus Hermopolitanus see B. Kübler in Pauly-Wissowa *RE*. V A 1863, under no. 43.

Cod. VI 61, as it is preserved in the MSS., consists of eight imperial constitutions of a later origin — the oldest, c. 1, is of 426 — three of which, cc. 6-8, were promulgated by Justinian. Together with two very extensive constitutions of this Emperor (c. 6 of 529, and c. 8 of August 531) the whole title gives a full picture of the topic indicated in the rubric mentioned above, and one really does not see what might have been the theme of three further constitutions. If statistics may be taken into consideration, although we are perfectly aware of their not decisive importance, it should be stressed that in the whole Justinian *Code* there is not one title with a proportion between pre-Justinian constitutions and Justinian ones, such as we should find in C. VI 61 after Krüger's completion: there would be six Justinian constitutions against five of 426-473. Even the most extensive titles of the *Code,* exceptionally abundant in Justinian's enactments, as I 3 *(de episcopis et clericis)* or I 4 *(de episcopali audientia)* which start with constitutions of the fourth century, show quite different proportions: in I 3 only cc. 41-55, in I 4 cc. 20-34, are Justinian's.[4] Nor should one forget that those titles deal with matters which were profoundly reformed by Justinian, hence the abundance of his constitutions which had to regulate the extensive subject. Yet even there the number of Justinian constitutions is far from being preponderant. But it is quite inconceivable that there should be such a preponderance in a title concerning such a restricted topic as the subject of VI 61.

But there is something more. In the corresponding title of the *Basilica,* XLV 4, where from sect. 5 (Heimb. IV 530 ff.) *all* constitutions of the *Code*—except c. 4[5]—are preserved, partly in literal translations, and richly endowed with scholia, there is no trace of any of the three constitutions 9-11. Nor is one of these constitutions mentioned in the scholia. The same holds firm for all post-Basilic legal collections, the *Synopseis* and *Harmenopoulos* included. If there had been three constitutions more, why should they have been omitted in the *Basilica* which mirror so exactly the whole title of the *Code*?

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[3] Not 36, as Krüger notes. Misprint, too, in G. E. Heimbach Jr. *Anecdota* I (1838), 233, where excerpts of Theodorus' *Summary of the Novels* are collected.

[4] In the title I 5 (*de haereticis*) out of 22 constitutions eleven at least are of pre-Justinian origin. In III 28 *(de inofficioso testamento)* the proportion is: nine Justinian and 28 pre-Justinian constitutions.

[5] Preserved in *Prochiron Auctum* 31, 33.

Already these reflections alone considerably undermine one's confidence in Theodorus' citation. But now to Theodorus' text itself. The Byzantine lawyer gives a summary of *Nov.* 22 c. 34, stating that to the father belongs the usufruct over all acquisitions of the *filius familias*; even when he (the father) contracts a second marriage,—except the *peculium castrense* and *quasi castrense,* which remain without restriction the property of the son. In connection with this statement Theodorus gives some references to other texts of the *Code.* The passage referred to runs in BS[6] as follows: ἀνάγνωθι βιβ. ϛ′ τοῦ κώδικος, τιτ. ξα′. διατ. ϛ′. καὶ η′. καὶ ια′. καὶ βιβ. η′. τιτ. μϛ′. διατ. α′.[7]

A comparison of this text with the corresponding passages in other MSS. shows, however, interesting variants: according to Heimbach Jr., *Anecdota* I, 233, καὶ before ια′ is missing in the Flor. MS. of the BS and likewise in all three MSS. of Pec. The Bonon. MS. of Pec. has here instead of the mention of c. 8 (η′) the version: καὶ ἡ (sic!) ια′! Besides this instead of Cod. J. VIII 46, 1, quoted in BS and Pec., the *Syntomos* names c. 2 of the same title, and in all MSS. of Pec. the mention of C. VI 61, 6 is lacking.

That the carelessness of the copyists might have caused some of these discrepancies, there is no doubt. Nevertheless, they deserve some comment.

1. The citation of Cod. J. VIII 46, 2 in the *Syntomos* is the right one, because c. Iod. to which BS and Pec. refer has nothing to do with the question involved.

2. On the contrary the citation of Cod. J. VI 61, 6 in BS and *Syntomos*—omitted, however, in Pec.—is appropriate since the text contains legal rules concerning the different rights of the father and son over the latter's acquisitions as well as c. 8 h.t.

3. The most important variant, so far as the problem of c. 11 is concerned, is the omission of καὶ before the mention of this mysterious constitution. Through this omission in four MSS. (one MS. of BS and three MSS. of Pec.) the connection with the Codex title VI 61 is broken.

To which text of the *Code* does the mention of a constitution no. 11 really refer? I believe I have found the solution. There is in the *Code* another constitution of Justinian of the same date *"IIII*

[6] I copy exactly the punctuation and accentuation of Heimbach's edition.

[7] Translation by Heimbach: Lege lib. 6. Codicis, tit. 61. const. 6. et 8. et 11. et lib. 8. tit. 46. const. 1.

K. Aug. Constantinopoli post consulatum Lampadii et Orestis vv. cc." (a. 531), addressed to the same *praefectus praetorio* Johannes and connected with the same topic as the last constitution of the title VI 61, i.e. c. 8.: it is C. VI 22, 11. Both constitutions, located in the same Book of the *Code*, refer in the introduction to the same previous enactment of Justinian, C. VI 61, 6[8] and it is very likely that originally they were united in one constitution.[9] As so often elsewhere, the compilers of the *Code* separated this constitution into two texts and placed them in two different titles. The citation of *this* constitution 11 fits perfectly into Theodorus' reference since it touches also upon the *res quae parentibus adquiri non possunt* in the same way as Cod. VIII 46, 2 mentioned by him *(extra ea quae non adquiruntur patri)* and Cod. VI 61, 6 and 8 which both deal with *peculia castrensia* and *quasi castrensia* over which the father does not acquire any right.

The explanation how the enigmatic constitution ια′ entered into Theodorus' comment is now obvious. Theodorus correctly collected a series of texts dealing with the matter. He doubtless knew the connection between c. 8 of VI 61 and c. 11 of VI 22. When noting the references collected he—or his scribe—inadvertently omitted to add that the c. 11 belonged to the title 22 of the same Book VI of the Code. Similar omissions are very human and happen to many a modern author when several texts are to be cited together. It is also probable that in the first MS. of Theodorus' work there was no καὶ before ια′, as we read in some MSS. It was only some later copyist who, not knowing where to join the ια′, inserted before it the ominous καὶ by which the const. VI 61, 11 came into existence. Another embarrassed copyist suppressed the const. 8 (η′) and wrote καὶ ἡ ια′.[10]

With the elimination of c. 11 the imaginary constitutions 9 and 10 have to share its lot and disappear from Cod. J. VI 61 which thus regains its shape as preserved in all MSS. of Justinian's *Code*.

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[8] C. 11 cit.: *ex lege quam nuper promulgavimus;* c. 8 cit.; *post novellam nostri numinis legem.* Therefore the citation of both constitutions, 6 and 8, by Theodorus is correct.

[9] Their intrinsic relationship is noted in Krüger's edition.

[10] Cf. *supra,* p. 36.

AN EGYPTIAN FARMER OF THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE

In 1911, Pierre Jouguet published under the title *Papyrus de Theadelphie* a collection of fifty-nine papyrus documents in the Cairo Museum originating from Kom Bat'n Harit, the site of the ancient village of Theadelphia in the southwestern part of the Fayum. These documents were the remains of the business papers of a peasant landholder named Aurelios Sakaon and his circle of relatives whose activities fell mainly within the period of Diocletian and Constantine I. From them and from some papyri belonging to the same archive which had found their way into other collections, Professor Jouguet reconstructed a vivid picture of contemporary life at Theadelphia and threw much light upon the fiscal administation of rural Egypt in the early fourth century. An interesting parallel to the career of Sakaon is offered by that of Aurelios Isidoros of Karanis, another Fayum village situated on the northern border of the oasis not far from the eastern end of the large salt lake known as the Birket Qarun. The papers of Isidoros, comprising one hundred and forty-nine identifiable pieces, are also in the Cairo Museum. Although only about one-fourth of these have been published so far, it seems worthwhile to trace from them and from those awaiting publication the activities of Isidoros as a farmer and a village official because of the way in which they supplement our knowledge of agricultural conditions and of the operations of the tax system in this corner of Egypt at the opening of the Byzantine epoch.

Aurelios Isidoros was born about A.D. 268, since in an official document dated 6 August, 308, he is said to be forty years old.[1] This statement agrees approximately with his own declaration of his age in a census return for the year 309,[2] where unfortunately, the numeral following the symbol for forty has been lost, as well as the latter part of the number when spelled out. But in a con-

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[1] A. E. R. Boak, "The Date of the Establishment of the *praepositus pagi* in Egypt," *Mélanges Maspero,* II, p. 127.

[2] *Id.* "Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum," 12, 9 (*Études de Papyrologie,* III, p. 26): ἐ[τῶ]ν κ., τεσ[σαράκοντα *x*]. This could be restored to read ἐ[τῶ]ν [κα], τεσ[σαράκοντα ἑνός].

tract of 297,[3] he is said to be about thirty-five years old, which would place his birth some six years earlier, in 262. Since, however, the Egyptian peasants were never cery certain of their ages, it is probable that the official statement of 308, which could be verified by reference to earlier census records, is approximately correct. Accordingly, he was just about the same age as Sakaon, whose birth must be placed between 265 and 270.[4] In both official and private documents, Isidoros is called "son of Ptolemaios." This Ptolemaios must be identified with the Aurelios Ptolemaios who appears as a principal in a small number of transactions preserved among the papers of Isidoros and as the recipient of a letter. In particular, two receipts made out to him in 276 and 279 respectively, indicate that he was not a contemporary of Isidoros but old enough to be his father.[5] The receipts in question are for payment of rental on lands leased for agricultural purposes, and in them Ptolemaios is called a γεωργός or farmer. In addition to being a leaseholder, Ptolemaios was almost certainly a substantial landholder, for after his death both his wife and at least one son appear in possession of considerable property. We do not know when Ptolemaios was born, but apparently he had died before 298 since in that year one of his sons, Aurelios Pankratios acted as his mother's representative in declaring for taxation an orchard of twenty-four olive trees,[6] whereas if Ptolemaios had been alive he would almost certainly have represented his wife. The mother of Isidoros and widow of Ptolemaios was named Herois, and her own father's name was Chairemon.[7] Apart from the olive orchard mentioned above, Herois in 299 owned 30 15/32 arouras of farm land and another productive olive grove of 19/64 arouras.[8] But beyond these few facts we have no information regarding Herois and her activities.

Isidoros had several brothers. In addition to the above-mentioned Pankratios, there was Aurelios Peras presumably younger than Isidoros. In 297 Peras was drafted by his community for labor on the ship canal known as Trajan's River, which linked the Nile in the vicinity of Cairo to the head of the Red Sea. But Isidoros was able to hire a substitute for him in the person of one

[3] "Early Byz. Pap.", 15, 5 (*Études*, III, p. 34).

[4] *P. Thead.*, pp. 25, 43.

[5] "Early Byz. Pap.", 16, 4; 17, 3 (*Études*, III, pp. 38, 39).

[6] "Early Byz. Pap.", 2, 2-4 (*Études*, II, p. 9).

[7] *Loc. Cit.* See also, 8, 3; 3-4 (*Études*, III, pp. 5, 28).

[8] "Early Byz Pap.", 8; I, 11-20; II, 8-9 (*Études* III, pp. 5-6).

of his fellow villagers who agreed to perform the required tasks in return for a substantial compensation in money and rations.[9] In an undated list of property holders, following the name of Isidoros come those of two other brothers, Palemon and Gemellos.[10] And in a contemporary but also undated account of payments of taxes in grain there is an entry of 102¾ artabas credited to Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and his brothers.[11] In the Dioskoros who wrote a letter to "Isidoros, his brother," we may possibly have to do with one of these unnamed brothers.[12] We have no direct reference to any sisters of Isidoros, but it is possible that the Isidora, daughter of Ptolemaios, who is mentioned in the account cited above[13] and appears in several other documents, may have stood in this relationship to him. So far as we know, Isidoros himself had only one child, a son named Peeous (Πεηοῦς) who was three years old in 309, when Isidoros made the declaration of his own age and that of his son to a census official.[14] Since this declaration, like that of Sakaon made in the following year,[15] which also happens to be preserved, mentions persons of the male sex only, we do not know whether the wife of Isidoros was living at that time or whether he had any daughters. It may also be that he had an older son or sons who were no longer living at home, for the declarants only listed those who were then dwelling under the same roof as themselves.

As his name Aurelios indicates, Isidoros, like Sakaon, belonged to the great class of Egyptians whose ancestors had received their Roman citizenship under the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212.[16] Their families were of mixed Greco-Egyptian, or at least hellenized Egyptian, descent. In the case of Isidoros the names of his father, mother, and his brothers seem to point to a stronger Greek element in the family ancestry than do the corresponding names in the family of Sakaon. The latter's own name, that of his father, Sata-

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[9] "Early Byz. Pap.", 15 (*Études*, II, pp. 32-37).

[10] Cairo, *Journal d'entrée* no. 57378 (unpublished), 1-3: Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου καὶ ὁμοπ(άτριος) Παλήμων καὶ ὁμοπ(άτριος) Γέμελλος.

[11] *P. Mich.*, 376, 49: Ἰσίδωρος Πτολ( ) (καὶ) οἱ ἀδελ(φοί) where Πτολ( ) should be completed as Πτολ(εμαίου).

[12] Cairo, *Journal* no. 57380 (unpublished).

[13] *P. Mich.* 376, 48.

[14] "Early Byz. Pap.", 12, 10 (*Études*, III, p. 26).

[15] *P. Strass*,. 42 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, 210.

[16] Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 55.

bous, of his mother, Thermoutharion, and those of his brothers, Allion, Paesis, and Aunes,[17] are definitely Egyptian, as are those of other relatives recorded as members of his household in his census declaration of 310.[18] Nevertheless, Isidoros called his own son Peeous, a distinctly Egyptian name, which may indicate that the boy's mother was of Egyptian descent or that there were Egyptian relatives on the side of Isidoros himself. Like Sakaon, too, Isidoros apparently had little education, for we have no documents in the handwriting of either, and they do not even sign their names to papers where signatures are required. In such cases they are always represented by others who state that they write for them since they are illiterate (ἀγράμματοι).[19] But this inability to write was no serious handicap in the conduct of their business relations or public duties, for a large proportion of their associates were in the same situation.[20] In fact, it does not necessarily imply that they could not read or check accounts, since they both carried on extensive farm operations which required a good deal of computation and, in their various official positions they were the custodians of public records which, as we know, they carefully preserved. Perhaps we may compare this illiteracy to that of many successful farmers among our own rural population who have left all necessary writing to other members of their families for so long that they can barely sign their names.[21] Yet these men can read, although not readily, and can do the necessary farm accounting.

Following in his father's footsteps, Isidoros was a farmer, and hence is described as a γεωργός in numerous documents which relate to his agricultural activities. For an Egyptian villager he was a comparatively large landholder. We have his declaration of his holdings for the census of 297, following upon the introduction of Diocletian's tax reforms into Egypt in the same year.[22] In this return he listed 36 29/64 arouras of private land (γῆ ἰδιωτική) and

[17] *Thead.*, pp. 25-26.

[18] *P. Strass.*, 42 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, 210.

[19] *P. Thead.*, p. 32; "Early Byz. Pap." 9, 15-16 (*Études*, III, p. 11), and numerous other documents.

[20] Meyer-Leonhard, «'Αγράμματοι», p. 76. Cf. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, p. 383.

[21] This is borne out by the experience of our County Price and Ration Boards operating under O.P.A., where it was found that a large number of prosperous farmers could not fill out, or even sign, application forms.

[22] "Early Byz. Pap.", 9, 10, 14; 11, 8-12 (*Études*, III, pp. 11,16). On the new system of taxation cf. "Early Byz. Pap.," 1 (*Études*, II, pp. 1-8).

17 31/64 arouras of royal land (γῆ βασιλική), a total of 53 15/16 arouras, or approximately 45 acres. The so-called royal land was not imperial property, but land which had at one time formed part of the royal domain under the Ptolemies, had become state land after the Roman conquest of Egypt, and finally had to a considerable degree passed into the hands of individual proprietors, particularly in the course of the late third century.[23] As his declaration shows, the property of Isidoros was not in a single block, but comprised several parcels in different localities, all of them, however, in the vicinity of Karanis or within the "boundary district," ὁριοδεικτία, administered by it. Somewhat later, in a petition of uncertain date but written not long after 300, Isidoros declared that he was registered for the payment of taxes on 140 arouras (between 116 and 117 acres).[24] Apparently this was all personal property, for in the case of land which he rented from others, the taxes were paid by the lessors.[25] The increase in his property between 299 (the actual date of his census report) and the date of the petition in question may have come by way of inheritance or by purchase or a combination of both, but as to this we have no information. In addition to his rural properties, Isidoros also owned a house in Karanis itself where he resided following the Egyptian custom from ancient times down to the present for farmers to live together in villages rather than in separate homesteads on their farms.[26] It was probably in the ruins of this house or in its courtyard that the papers of Isidoros were discovered in 1923 by the natives of the locality who were plundering the ruins of the ancient village to procure fertilizing earth (*sebbakh*) for their fields. Sakaon was likewise a large proprietor. We know of at least 50 arouras—20 at Theadelphia and 30 at nearby Boubastos—which he leased to tenants,[27] and it is reasonable to suppose that he personally farmed some of his own property. Although probably smaller in extent than those of Isidoros, his properties were larger in comparison with the total average ascribed to Theadelphia and Karanis respectively. At Theadelphia, his 20 arouras comprised 1/25th of the total area and 1/10th of the productive portion.[28] In contrast, the total

[23] *P. Cornell,* pp. 109-111; *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* XII, p. 273.

[24] *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* I (1945), pp. 7-12.

[25] "Early Byz. Pap.," 13; 26 (*Études,* III, pp. 27-29; V, pp. 104-07).

[26] For his house see his personal declaration of 309, "Early Byz. Pap.", 12, 11 (*Études,* III, p. 26).

[27] *P. Thead,.* p. 29.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 30.

average in grain land attributed to Karanis and its *horiodeiktia* was computed as 4183 63/64 arouras in 314.[29] Of this, the 140 arouras belonging to Isidoros would amount to slightly less than 1/30th.

In addition to their own properties both Sakaon and Isidoros rented farm land from other proprietors, as a rule absentee landlords. The earliest recorded tenancy of Isidoros belongs in the year 292/93, to judge from a receipt given him in 298 by two proprietors for rental due on property of theirs which he had cultivated under lease in 293/94 and had also rented from its former owner in the previous year.[30] It is possible that he was still renting this same property as late as 306, for we have a receipt for rental of that date issued to him by Aurelios Kasios and another Aurelios Isidoros, who seem to have been the proprietors concerned in the receipt of 298.[31] In 296, Isidoros rented 10 arouras for a term of three years from Aurelios Zoilos who was a municipal clerk in Arsinoe, the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome in which Karanis was located.[32] He continued as a tenant of Zoilos as late as 312, when he paid rental on 4½ arouras which he was still cultivating under lease.[33] In 296 also, he requested Aurelios Nemesianos, another Arsinoite, to lease him some grain and for three years, and Nemesianos agreed to his proposal.[34] Another of his landlords was a woman, Aurelia Serenilla of Antinoopolis, to whom he paid rent in 300 on land which he was then cultivating for the third successive year.[35] From another woman, Aurelia Ptolemas, a resident of Arsinoe, Isidoros rented a farm plot in 302/03 and 303/04. In 304 he paid a share of the crop as rental for the second year, but apparently was still in arrears with his rental for the first.[36] He was still a tenant of Ptolemas' as late as 315,[37] athough it is not certain

[29] "Early Byz. Pap.", 23, 13-21 (*Études*, V, p. 96).

[30] "Early Byz. Pap.", 3 (*Études*, II, pp. 12-14).

[31] "Early Byz. Pap.", 18 (*Études*, III, pp. 41-42).

[32] "Early Byz. Pap.", 26 (*Études*, V, pp. 104-07).

[33] "Early Byz. Pap.", 20 (*Études*, III, pp. 44-45). Cf. also nos. 19 (*Études*, III, pp. 41-42), receipts for 308/9 and 310/11 respectively.

[34] "Early Byz. Pap.", 13 (*Études*, III, pp. 27-29).

[35] "Early Byz. Pap.", 4 (*Études*, II, pp. 15-17).

[36] "Early Byz. Pap.," 27 (*Études*, V, pp. 107-09).

[37] "Early Byz. Pap.," 30, I-II (*Études*, V, pp. 114-17) contains receipts for the years 312/13, 313/14, and 314/15, at which time the lease was still in force.

that the land which he then occupied was the same that he had rented in 302/03. Concurrently with this and his lease from Aurelios Zoilos, Isidoros also held one from Aurelios Gemellos (or Gemellion) and Aurelios Pasigenes which seems to have begun in 302/03 and run until 310.[38] There are no records of leases datable after 315, but that is probably a matter of chance since his papers are by no means complete and of those which he did file away many doubtless were destroyed before their discovery in recent times. At all events we see him continuously active as a tenant farmer from 292 through 315, holding as many as three and possibly four leases from different landlords at the same time. Since these leases were assumed voluntarily and were not forced leases of unoccupied land, we must conclude that at this period farming was a profitable occupation at Karanis for both proprietor and tenant farmer. So far as we know, however, Isidoros did not lease any of his own property to others, as Sakaon did.[39] Sakaon was also active as a herder, renting several flocks of sheep and herds of goats to pasture for a share in the profits of their management.[40] Isidoros, however, does not seem to have been engaged in any such enterprises.

Unfortunately, the papers of Isidoros yield practically no information about his farming operations. We should welcome details about rotation of crops, irrigation, use of fertilizers, the labor which he employed, as well as costs of production, marketing, and profits, but such have not been preserved. One or two fragmentary accounts may possibly concern farm business but their character is very uncertain. His principal crops were undoubtedly wheat and barley, the two staple grain crops of Egypt, and his rentals were regularly paid in wheat (σῖτος).[41] In one case, he not only paid the proprietor rental, but a share of the crop as well.[42] This, however, was an exceptional arrangement. Among the few letters in this archive is one from Zoilos, Isidoros' landlord, who wrote to him giving instructions about the disposal of grain belonging to

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[38] "Early Byz. Pap.", 5 and 6 (*Études*, II, pp. 17-20). Gemellos and Gemellion seem to be variant forms of the same name, and it is almost certain that the word Πασι . . o[of 5, 1, should be restored as Πασαγέν[ης].

[39] *P. Thead.*, p. 29.

[40] *P. Thead.*, p. 31. For the details of such an arrangement see *P. Thead.*, 8.

[41] Cf. "Early Byz. Pap.", 4; 5; 7; 13; 16; 19; 20; 26; 27; 30.

[42] "Early Byz. Pap.," 6 (*Études*, II, pp. 19-20).

him which Isidoros had on hand. In 309, Isidoros bought a white female donkey for 2 talents 3,000 drachmas from a woman named Aurelia Aeis, but this is the only one of his sales or purchases that is on record. We have, however, some more information about his borrowing and lending. In 307, he borrowed 17 talents 3,000 dr. from Aurelios Neilos as the price of 150 artabas of beans, which he was to repay in kind, not in money.[43] Two years later, he himself loaned an uncertain sum of money to Aurelios Heras for the value of 6 artabas of beans.[44] Here, too, repayment was to be made in kind. Then in 314, he made another loan to a different Heras for the price of vegetable seed, again requiring repayment in kind.[45] The explanation of these loans is that both beans and vegetable seed for making oil were collected as taxes or requisitions,[46] but if those who had to make the payments in kind did not have their quotas on hand, they could pay the commutation value in money. On occasion they would have to borrow cash for the purpose, but the creditors preferred repayment in kind, probably in view of inflationary prices. Probably the two damaged papyri of uncertain date in which Isidoros appears as one of a group of persons who jointly borrowed money for the price of beans, refer to lonas of this type.[47] In 312, Isidoros repaid a long-standing loan of 30 talents in silver made to him by Aurelios Sarapion, a councillor of Arsinoe, through the latter's agent Aurelios Chairemon under an unwritten agreement.[48] The reason for the loan is not stated.

As a landholder, Isidoros was subject to the various regular and extraordinary levies that were assessed on rural property both before and after Diocletian's reorganization of the tax system. Likewise as a tenant farmer, he might pay in the name of his landlords the taxes due from the lands which he cultivated under lease. Receipts for both sorts of payments were kept among his papers. In 291, Isidoros personally paid 800 drachmas due on his wheat tax for the year 288/89, and made another payment of 400 drach-

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[43] Cairo, *Journal*, 57375 (unpublished).

[44] "Early Byz. Pap.", 29 (*Études*, V, pp. 111-13).

[45] Cairo, *Journal*, 57078 (unpublished).

[46] Cairo, *Journal*, 57393 (unpublished), 1-2: λόγος Ἰσ[ιδώρου . .] . εντος εἰς τιμὴ(ν) φασήλο[υ . . .] ἰνδικτίωνος. There follows a list of names with quotas of vegetable seed and beans.

[47] Cairo, *Journal*, 57097, 57098 (unpublished).

[48] "Early Byz. Pap.", 29 (*Études*, V, pp. 111-13).

mas through one Pateieis.[49] A receipt dated in 294 records that he paid in the name of Sarapion a wine tax amounting to 300 drachmas for 293/94.[50] Then in 307, he received from the *sitologoi* of Karanis a receipt for the delivery of 10 artabas of wheat at the village granary in the name of Onesimos son of Proklos, as a tax payment on the harvest of the current year 306/07.[51] In 313, he paid to the collectors of the meat levy of Karanis for the year 311/12, 30½ pounds (*litrai*) of pork for himself and 42 pounds in the name of another.[52] From the year 324 come a group of receipts for payments of several kinds of taxes made by Isidoros both to his own account and that of others. On 17 May, he paid to the collectors of what are here called "royal taxes" (τέλη βασιλικά) the sum of 4,000 drachmas for Palemon and Syrion,[53] of whom the former may well have been his brother of that name. On the same day, he also paid to the grain collectors of Karanis 3,300 drachmas in silver and 11 1/3 artabas of barley as freight taxes (*naula*) on tax barley of the eleventh indiction (A.D. 322) for himself and 3,000 drachmas through his representative Kastor for the aforementioned Palemon and Syrion. The barley was destined for shipment to Chaireon near Alexandria.[54] Then on 24 May, he received another receipt from the collectors of freight taxes for the sum of 3,000 drachmas on straw or chaff likewise being shipped from Karanis to Chaireon. This payment was for himself.[55] On the following 24th of June, Isidoros made a second payment of τέλη βασιλικά, this time to his own account.[56] Finally, on 27 July, he paid on behalf of Palemon and Syrion to the collectors of the wood levy 800 drachmas as the commutation price for fifty pounds of wood and repair charges on a boat.[57] Unfortunately, this small group of receipts represents only a scanty remnant of those which Isidoros must have received in the course of his many years as a taxpayer and, although they may serve to illustrate various classes of taxes for which he and his contemporaries were liable, they fail to give

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[49] Cairo, *Journal*, 57050, Col. I, 1-10 (in press).

[50] *Ibid*, Col. II, 20-26 (in press).

[51] Cairo, *Journal*, 57048 (in press).

[52] Cairo, *Journal*, 57094 (in press).

[53] Cairo, *Journal*, 57029, Col. I, 1-8 (in press).

[54] *Ibid.*, Col. II (a), 12-23; (b), 24-30.

[55] *Ibid.*, Col. III, 31-35.

[56] *Ibid.*, Col. I, 8-11.

[57] *Ibid.*, Col. IV, 36-42.

anything like an adequate picture of the fiscal burden which he carried. One may be permitted to conjecture why no more of these receipts have been preserved. Doubtless the element of luck played a large part in the destruction of many both during his own time and later. Many others may well have been written on ostraka, and consequently were never incorporated in his archives.

Fortunately, we are able to develop a clearer picture of the career of Isidoros as a public official. This seems to have begun in 300/01, with his appointment as a tax collector (ἀπαιτητής), for in this capacity on 23 October, 303, he deposited 10 talents, and on the 25th, 500 drachmas for the levy of the 17th year of Diocletian (=A.D. 300/01).[58] But it is not certain what particular tax he helped to collect. In 302/03 apparently, he was one of the *kephalaiotai* of Karanis, to judge from a receipt which was given in his name for a quantity of wheat delivered by the *sitologoi* for making bread.[59] the *kephalaiotai* formed a committee, at Karanis apparently ten in number,[60] appointed by the komarchs and acting under the direction of the *praepositus pagi.* Their chief function was to assign tax quotas to individual villagers.[61] At Theadelphia, Sakaon also filled the office of *kephaliotes,* but not until towards the close of his career when he was at least sixty years of age.[62] The next office which fell to the lot of Isidoros was that of komarch of the village of Karanis, a position which he filled for the year 308/09. One of the most interesting among his papyri is either the original, or a duplicate, of his nomination to the komarchy along with a colleague Ptolemaios, son of Papisatis.[63] This nomination was made by the two komarchs of the preceding year to the *praepositus pagi,* who evidently authorized their appointment. In this recommendation they are described as "men of property and qualified and ones who will carry out well and faithfully the charge entrusted to them for the appointed annual term." At that time

[58] Cairo, *Journal,* 57038 (unpublished).

[59] Cairo, *Journal,* 57409 (unpublished). The receipt itself is undated, but the wheat in question was from the harvest of 301 and probably would not have been delivered until the following year to judge from other receipts.

[60] Boak, "Some Early Byzantine Tax Records from Egypt," *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.,* 51 (1940), p. 36, where there is a list of the κεφαλαιωταὶ κώμης Καρανίδος.

[61] On the *kephalaiotai,* cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie,* pp. 225-29.

[62] *P. Thead.,* p. 33.

[63] *Mélanges Mospero,* II, p. 127.

Isidoros was said to be forty years old and his colleague thirty. The komarchs were at that time the village headmen, who supervised the administration of their respective communities under the direction of higher authorities, notably the *praepositus*. In addition to the above-mentioned duty of nominating candidates for village offices, they were associated with the *praepositus* in the repartition of the tax quotas of the village among the landholders. An undated papyrus in our collection gives an example of such repartitions (μερισμοὶ) and complains of their unfairness in this respect and of their collusion with the *praepositus* in making unjust assignments.[64] Other documents belonging to 315 show that the komarchs of Karanis made deliveries on shipboard of barley requisitioned for the use of an office in the cavalry remount service at Alexandria and that they received due payment therefor.[65] Nothing remains, however, of the papers which Isidoros and his colleague must have received or issued during the year 308/09, unless the fragmentary beginning of a document addressed to the κωμάρχαι δημόσιοι of Karanis[66] once formed part of a communication placed in their hands. We have no reason to suppose that Isidoros was ever renominated as komarch for a second time. Sakaon was, however, not so fortunate. After completing his first term in 323/24, he was retained in office certainly for two, and possibly even for three more terms. Then again in 332, he, along with two colleagues, held the office of ἐν ἀρχῇ δεσπότης which Jouguet believes to be the equivalent of the komarchy.[67]

Immediately following his year as komarch, Isidoros was appointed a *sitologos* or grain collector, and he served as such throughout the year 309/10. As a *sitologos*, he was a member of a board or committee of possibly ten associates, although we can only identify the names of seven, for the documents never list the full membership but are content to name three or four and include the rest under the formula καὶ κοινωνοὶ σιτολόγοι.[68] The *sitologoi* of Karanis were in charge of the public granaries of the village and its horiodeiktia. They received the wheat, barley, and the crops which were delivered there in payment of taxes, and took charge of the transport of these *naturalia* from the granaries to various

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[64] *Harv. Stud.*, 51, pp. 45-49 (undated, but possibly of 315).

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-45.

[66] Cairo, *Journal*, 57390 (unpublished).

[67] *P. Thead.*, pp. 32-33.

[68] *E.g.* Cairo *Journal*, 57030, Col. IV, 72-74 = *Harv. Stud.*, 51 (1940), p. 51.

points whence they could be shipped by water to Alexandria or some other destination. The granaries of the late third and fourth centuries excavated by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition at Kom Aushîm, the site of Karanis, in 1924-28 are almost certainly among those which in 309/10 were managed by Isidoros and his colleagues.[69] An ostrakon from the excavations bear witness to the activity of Isidoros at the granary[70] of the subsidiary village of Kerkesoucha located at Karanis. It is a receipt issued by him and his colleague Pamoun as *sitologoi* to Palemon, son of Ptollas, for one and one-half donkey loads of wheat. Of far greater significance is the detailed report drawn up by himself and his colleagues in 309 and containing all the deliveries of wheat, barley and lentils which they received for the year 308/09 from both citizens of the metropolis and villagers of Karanis.[71] The report does not cover the *horiodeiktia*, and the name of the official to whom it was presented as well as a large part of the barley account are missing. The wheat total, however, amounted to 45104 artabas, and there were 40 artabas of lentils. Isidoros himself contributed 48 artabas of wheat, but his name was in the lost portion of the barley account. A great deal of the grain from Karanis was transported to the harbors of Kerke and Leukogion in the Nile valley.[72] Six receipts signed by a receiver of barley at Kerke bear witness that between 18 June and 10 July, 309, Isidoros and his fellow *sitologoi* delivered there 1011¼ artabas of barley and paid in addition in money the freight charges thereon for their further transportation by water.[73] A single receipt given by the receivers at Leukogion on 28 August of the same year acknowledges the delivery of 1976 artabas of barley and the payment of the appropriate transport dues.[74] On 14 August and 10 November, 309, Isidoros and his colleague Antonios delivered 750 pounds (*litrai*) and 1950 pounds of *pistikion* respectively to a pair of receivers, whose receipts do not specify where they received this grain.[75]

[69] Boak and Peterson, *Karanis Reports*, 1924-28. The ground plan of these granaries appears on Plan V, Sections F10 and F11, numbers B115 A-G, and C65.

[70] *O. Mich.*, I, 543.

[71] Cairo, *Journal*, 57033 (unpublished).

[72] For Kerke, see E. Wicken, "Zur Topographie des Fayums," *Corolla Archaeologica, Skrift. Svenska Inst. Rom.*, II (1922), pp. 270-76, and for Leukogion, L. Amundsen, *O. Oslo.*, p. 51.

[73] Cairo, *Journal*, 57394, Cols. I-III (unpublished).

[74] *Ibid.*, Col. III.

[75] "Early Byz. Pap.," 24; 25 (*Études*, V, pp. 102-03).

Apparently the *pistikion* in question was emmer wheat, rather than spelt.[76] On 12 January, 310, an Aurelios Heras borrowed from Isidoros and other *sitologoi,* nine artabas of wheat possibly as seed grain, although, since wheat was usually sown in the fall, it may have been either for domestic consumption or to satisfy his tax quota.[77] Apparently Isidoros served only one year as *sitologos,* unlike Sakaon who held that office at Theadelphia in 315/16, and was filling it again in 319.[78] But the responsibility for the performance of their duties still rested upon Isidoros and his colleagues for some years after their active rôle ceased. In 312, they had to make a very detailed report of the wheat[79] and barley which they had collected both from Karanis and from its *horiodeiktia,* specifying the acreage on which the levy was made and giving the names of the receivers to whom it had been turned over.[80] The names and titles of the officials who called for this report have been lost but they were undoubtedly high revenue officers of the Arsinoite nome. Although the wheat total is now lost, that of the barley has been preserved. It amounted to 3531 1/3 1/12 artabas. Of emmer wheat there was only a small quantity—93¼ artabas.

For the two years immediately following his term as *sitologos,* 310/11 and 311/12, Isidoros served as a collector of the chaff or straw levy (ἀπαιτητὴς ἀχύρου). As collector for 310/11, he and his colleague Seuthes, son of Heras, were called upon in 314 to prepare a summary report of their collections and transfers, at the request of an official called the πρεταικτάτωρ ἑπτανομίας, whose position and functions are uncertain, but who was conducting an investigation into the work of the chaff collectors.[81] In general, this report forms a parallel to those of the *sitologoi* just mentioned, and it is from it that we learn the acreage of Karanis and its *horiodeiktia* planted to grain; 1198 31/64 arouras for Karanis and 2985 32/64 for the *horiodeiktia,* making a total of 4183 63/64 arouras from which there were collected 104,000 pounds of chaff, an average of 25 pounds to the aroura. Of much greater length was the report of

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[76] N. Jasny, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity,* pp. 134-141.

[77] Cairo, *Journal,* 57052 (unpublished).

[78] *P. Thead.,* p. 32.

[79] Both σῖτος (naked wheat) and πιστίκιον (emmer). For the meaning of σῖτος at this period, cf. Jasny, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

[80] Cairo, *Journal,* 57030. Cols. I and II are unpublished; Cols. III and IV = "Early Byz. Tax Records," 4, *Harv. Stud.,* 51 (1940), pp. 49-60.

[81] "Early Byz. Pap.", 23 (*Études,* V, pp. 95-101).

individual contributions to the ἐμβολὴ ἀχύρου of 310/11 prepared by Isidoros and his fellow chaff collector Seuthes on 1 December 311.[82] The ἐμβολή was the chaff gathered for shipment to Alexandria. The list occupied 10 columns with about 220 entries recording the deliveries of 104 separate taxpayers. There is nothing to indicate that Sakaon was a chaff-collector at Theadelphia.

The last public office which Isidoros held was that of τεσσαλάριος = tessararius, which he held in 313.[83] In that capacity he, along with the two komarchs of Karanis delivered to the garment receivers (ἀποδέκται στιχαρίων) 22 *sticharia* and 8 *pallia* as the village quota for military clothing apparently for the year 310/11, and gave a statement to the strategos of the Arsinoite nome to the effect that they had received the proper price for these articles. There is also a fragmentary communication addressed to Isidoros as *tessararius* of the village of Karanis by two komarchs of the village of Bouto in the Memphite nome.[84] The date of this document is lost but very probably it belongs to the year 313. Very little is known about the functions of the *tessararius* as a civilian official but it is almost certain that he was concerned in some way with the fiscal administration. This office also is one which Sakaon was not called upon to fill.

We see then, that between 300/01 and 313 Isidoros filled no less than six different public offices in his community and that in these he served for six out of the twelve years. His duties must have been very time-consuming since they involved the collecting, warehousing and transporting of government revenues, and the keeping of detailed records for the inspection of his superiors. Furthermore, he received no compensation for his services, which were regarded as a series of liturgies or obligatory public duties required of those who possessed a certain minimum of property.[85] Not only so, but his property, along with that of his colleagues in office and that of his fellow villagers, was liable to seizure to make good any deficiencies in the execution of the tasks that were thus imposed upon him.[86] The burden of office rested just as heavily upon Sa-

[82] Cairo, *Journal,* no. 57086 (unpublished). In this text Seuthes is miscalled Heras.

[83] Cairo, *Journal,* 57024 A-E (unpublished).

[84] Cairo, *Journal,* 57026 (unpublished).

[85] Wilcken, *Grundzüge,* p. 354; Oertel, *Liturgie,* pp. 131 ff.

[86] See, in addition to the references cited in the previous note, H. I. Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History,* X, pp. 301-02.

kaon as upon Isidoros since he served certainly for a total of seven, and possibly of ten years in liturgical posts.[87] These were, however, spread over a somewhat longer period, from 307 to 342, and in a smaller and less populous community.

How long Isidoros lived is uncertain, but it is unlikely that he survived much beyond 324, the date of the latest documents in which he is mentioned. In that year he was fifty-six years old. Sakaon, as we have seen, reached the age of sixty at least.

From the foregoing study of the career of Isidoros and its comparison with that of Sakaon, two conclusions of some significance can be drawn. One, that, as intimated above, agriculture in the Fayum in the early fourth century could still be made a profitable occupation, provided that the irrigation services could be maintained. Since these failed at Theadelphia, agriculture was doomed and the site was abandoned by its inhabitants.[88] But at Karanis the canals continued to function and the community survived for another century. Secondly, that the village landholders must reconcile themselves to holding some six or more different liturgical offices, some for more than one term, during their maturer years. This surely was a burden heavy enough in times of prosperity, but when added to the load of taxation in a period when the cost of government was draining the resources of the provinces to the point of exhaustion, it is not surprising that in the long run it proved an intolerable load. The career of Isidoros lends new emphasis to the generally accepted opinion that the liturgical system was largely responsible for the ruin of the propertied class in the towns and villages of Egypt in the early Byzantine period.

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[87] *P. Thead.*, pp. 32-33.

[88] *P. Thead.*, p. 24.

LE GAMMA IRRATIONNEL

Je suis heureux et fier d'être parmi les collaborateurs de ce volume dédié au professeur Henri Grégoire, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de suivre les cours pendant l'année academique 1939 - 1940. Quoiqu'il ne se souvienne certainement pas de moi, son influence sur moi fut grande: c'est à lui que je dois d'avoir commencé à aimer la langue des Hellènes, aussi bien l'ancienne que la moderne. Je puis aujourd'hui lui offrir, comme une faible ἀντίδοσις, le fruit — légèrement mûri — d'une petite recherche que j'ai eu l'occasion de faire pour son cours de grec moderne, à la demande de son suppléant, M. Roger Goossens, son élève — et mon maître.

* * *

On appelle communément "gamma irrationnel" le gamma — généralement intervocalique ou prévocalique et initial [1] — du grec post-classique et spécialement du grec moderne, que l'on ne peut pas expliquer étymologiquement. Son existence est d'autant plus surprenante, que le Γ intervocalique et même initial *ordinaire* disparaît facilement en grec moderne, *cf. infra* (p. 57).

Déjà dans la langue des papyrus on en trouve des exemples: ὑγιγαίνις εὐεργέτης, Σαραπιγήῳ, ἐκφόρηγα, etc., mais souvent aussi le Γ intervocalique est négligé: στρατηούς, ὑιαίνομεν, σφραῖδων, *cf.* E. Schwyzer,[2] p. 209, γ. Ces derniers exemples prouvent que les Egyptiens qui parlaient grec faisaient du Γ une spirante, et peut-être que certains ne le prononçaient même pas, *cf.* A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*,[3] p. 134. Au début de notre ère la prononciation du grec était à peu près celle de nos jours, et nous trouvons dans l'orthographe de cette époque des graphies comportant, p. ex., la consonne géminée pour la consonne simple, la diphtongue pour la voyelle, p. ex. ΜΕΓΑΛΛΩΝ, ΕΙΣΙΣ

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[1] Le Γ qui apparaît devant ν (ἀγνάντια, γνέθω, etc.) provient de ϰ, (ἐ)ϰ. Par suite d'un désir d'articuler clairement et nettement la géminée, -νν- est parfois changé en -γν- : σύγνεφο, etc., *cf.* E. Schwyzer, *Dissimilatorische Geminatenauflösung als Folge v. Übersteigerung . . .*, dans *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch. auf d. Geb. d. i. g. Spr.*, 1933, LXI, pp. 222-224.

[2] E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaftbegr v.* I. v. Müller, 2. *Abt.*, 1. *T.*), München, 1934.

[3] A. Thumb, . . . Strassburg, 1901.

pour ΙΣΙΣ, ΙΧΘΟΙΣ pour ἰχθύς; de telles graphies sont dues au souci d'écrire correctement. Les gamma irrationnels (ou au moins certains d'entr'eux) des papyrus pourraient également être des graphies inverses, des hyper-corrections. Notons toutefois que la suppression du Γ commence après ι, ε, η, υ, vers le milieu du III^e S., et après α seulement au début du II^e S., et que l'addition du Γ n'a lieu qu'en présence de *i* ou *e*, sauf dans la forme κλάγω, *cf.* E. Mayser,[4] I, pp. 163 *sqq.* et *infra* à propos de Ἀπῆγα et de ἄγουρος.

Parfois le gamma irrationnel actuel — suivi ou non de ι — est purement graphique, et sert à noter le son *i* (*i* consonne) comme dans γιά, γιατρός, γ(ι)ερός, γιομίζω, γιανιτζάρης, γιῶμα, γιός, γυαλί, γιορτή, etc., *cf.* A. Thumb, *Hdb. neugr. Volksspr.*,[5] pp. 9, § 11; 15, § 22. Cet usage ne résulte évidement que de la prononciation *i* du γ devant voyelle antérieure (*i*, *e*).

Dans une forme telle que ἀγέρας pour ἀήρ, le Γ s'explique aisément. Par suite de l'hiatus, un groupe *-ae-* tend à devenir *-a^e-*, -a^i- (diphtongue) ou, au contraire, a^ee-, puis -a^ie-[6]: la semi-voyelle sépare et distingue les deux syllabes, et facilite la prononciation vocalique du *e*. Le mot ἀέρας aura été prononcé *a^eras*,[7] puis *a^ieras*, écrit ἀγέρας. La même explication est valable pour d'autres mots où un son *e* (ε, αι, éventuellement η) ou *i* (ι, ει, ῃ, η, υ, οι)[8] était précédé d'une voyelle.[9] Des gamma irrationnels tels que ceux de γιά, γυαλί, ἀγέρας, n'ont été possibles qu'à partir du moment où Γ devant voyelle antérieure (*e*, *i*) s'est prononcé [1].[10]

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[4] E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, *Laut- und Wortlehre*, Leipzig, 1906.

[5] A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, Straszburg, 1895.

[6] *e* et *i* sont très proches l'un de l'autre, et *e* devient facilement *i*.

[7] L'accent, devenant accent d'intensité, a probablement contribué à faire adopter la prononciation dissyllabique.

[8] Ces cas semblent être rares, parce que, automatiquement et imperceptiblement, le groupe *voyelle* + *i* se prononce comme diphtongue, ou, si l'on accentue le caractère dissyllabique, il engendre une semi-voyelle de transition, qui se confond avec *i* et passe inaperçu. En somme, il n'existe de *i* purement et entièrement voyelle, qu'entre deux consonnes (semi-voyelles incluses); en présence d'une voyelle, il y a toujours une semi-voyelle de transition.

[9] Quand celle-ci était un *o* ou un *u*, la semi-voyelle de transition pouvait aussi être *o* ou *u*; pour l'évolution de ces sons, *cf. infra* (à propos de ἄγουρος).

[10] L'existence de *ajéra* à Cardete (à côté de *aéro* à Bova) et dans la Terra d'Otranto (à côté de *agéra*, *angéra*, *angéri* et *aéri*) ne prouve pas que l'épenthèse du *i* soit antérieure à l'isolement des Grecs d'Italie: un *même* complexe phonétique peut subir une *même* évolution dans deux régions indépendantes.

Au lieu du groupe dont il a été question plus haut, on pouvait aussi avoir une suite *e / i* + *voyelle*. Dans pareil cas, le grec moderne remplace les deux syllabes par une seule, dans laquelle *e / i*, même accentué, devient semi-voyelle: βραδυάζει, ὁμοιάζω, φτειάνω, ἴσιος, παλιός, λιοντάρι, πανώριος, ἀτέλειωτος, ἔπιασα, ἔλυωσα, βαρειά, παιδιά, καρδιά, σκολειό, βασιλιάς, νιός, π(λ)ιό, *cf.* A. Thumb, *Hdb. neugr. Volksspr.*, pp. 8 *sq.*, § 11. Il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi, comme il ressort de 'Απῆγα, forme tardive (d'après E. Schwyzer, *l.c.*) du nom propre 'Απία.[11] On pourrait croire à une évolution [i] — γ,[12] ou à une prononciation [i] du Γ après i; mais de telles explications ne reposeraient sur rien. Pour que la graphie 'Απῆγα fut possible, il fallait que le Γ eut une valeur proche de *i*, tout au moins entre *i* et *a*. Or nous trouvons les graphies Πρειιας (= Πρεγιας = Περγαίας) et Μηειάλη (=Μεγάλη) en pamphylien, *cf.* E. Schwyzer, p. 209, γ: encore une preuve de la ressemblance entre *i* et Γ (entre *i* ou *e*, et *i* ou *a*), *un indice pour une prononciation spirante du* Γ *après voyelle antérieure*, devant une autre voyelle. Un autre indice d'une prononciation spirante est l'absence de Γ, si fréquente en Egypte (*cf. supra*) ; or il est fort remarquable que le Γ négligé était *toujours* précédé ou suivi d'un *i* ou d'un *e*, *cf.* ἰών (=ἐγών), ὀλίος, Σελεῖδος (à côté de Σελεγ(ε)ίδος), Μεαλίνα et Μιαλίνα (*cf. supra* Μηειάλη), Φιαλεύς et Φιαλεία, ὠλιώρησεν, ὀλιωρεῖν (*cf.* E. Schwyzer, *l.c.*; A. Thumb, *Die griech. Spr. im Zeitalter d. Hellenismus*, *l.c.*; G. Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.*,[13] pp. 294 *sq.*, § 218), et dans les papyrus: στρατηούς, στρατηίας, σφραΐδων, ὑιαίνομεν, à côté des hypercorrections Σαραπιγήφ, ἐκφόρηγα.[14] Dans les transcriptions démotiques de mots grecs enfin, nous constatons que Θ est rendu par *t* ou *th*, sauf devant *i* ou (plus tard) *e*, où l'on trouve *ts*,[15] ce qui in-

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sourtout si cette évolution est naturelle, comme c'est le cas ici, *cf.* note 8. Entre les deux premières syllabes de l'angl. *aerate* on entend une semi-voyelle de transition *i*; personne néanmoins ne songerait à dériver ce verbe de ἀγέρας! J'ai puisé la majorité de mes renseignements sur les parlers grecs de l'Italie méridionale dans G. Rohlfs, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*, Halle a. Saale, 1930.

[11] 'Απῆγα est la femme de Νάβις, tyran de Sparte (-207 à -192). Vers le milieu du II[e] S. η et ι (et ει) commencent à être confondus dans les textes écrits, *cf.* E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, p. 186, δ.

[12] On note par γ la spirante gutturale sonore (le premier son de gr. mod. γάμμα).

[13] G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 3. *verm. Aufl.*, Leipzig, 1896.

[14] *Cf.* E. Mayser, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 *sq.*: Γ disparaît après ι, ε, η, υ, à partir du milieu du III[e] S., après α au début du II[e] S.

[15] Et inversement, *tsj* est rendu en grec par θι.

dique une prononciation spirante du Θ dans cette position; de même, Δ devant *i* est rendu par *ts*, ailleurs par *t* (-δι- et -ϑι- avaient donc à peu près a même prononciation!), et Γ en présence de ε ou η est parfois rendu par *j*: *srtjws* (et *srtjqs*) = σ(τ)ρατηγός,[16] *snjns* = συγγενής (E. Schwyzer, p. 155, 5; *cf. ibid* p. 209, γ). Par conséquent, les aspirées et sonores devinrent plus rapidement spirantes en présence d'une voyelle antérieure qu'ailleurs, ce qu'on pouvait déjà présumer pour le Γ d'après les exemples cités plus haut. Et cela se conçoit: ces consonnes se mouillent en présence de *i* ou *e*, deviennent affriquées (le *ts* démotique indique peut-être une telle prononciation?) en enfin spirantes. Le nom propre 'Απία, prononcé *Ap'a*, a pu être écrit avec Γ, parce que le Γ entre *i* et *a* était spirante, et donc très proche de [1]; pourqui cette graphie a-t-elle eu due succès? Sans doute par suite d'une étymologie populaire: entre autres exactions, 'Απῆγα a *ravi* (ἀπάγειν!) aux femmes d'Argos tous leurs bijoux en or et leurs vêtements de luxe, *cf.* Polyb., XVIII, 17. Exprimée en grec moderne, l'opinion commune aura été à peu près «Δὲν εἶναι 'Απία, μὰ 'Απῆγα».

Dans les formes ἄγουρος et dérivés, ἀγουρίδα, etc., ἀγώρι, chypr. ϑέαγον (*Hés.*, soufre),[17] le Γ se trouve toujours entre *a* et *o* (ou *u*).[18] L'origine de ce Γ nous est indiquée par la forme AΥΩΡΩ pour AΩΡΩ d'une inscription de Phrygie,[19] avec laquelle il faut comparer la graphie ΠΕΘΙΑΥΟΣ pour Πυθίαος d'une inscription mytilénienne du III[e] S. J'ai expliqué cette graphie dans mon mémoire de licence *Tituli Aeolici*, pp. 100 *sq.*: entre *a* et *o* s'est développée une semi-voyelle de transition ° très légère (*cf.* ἀγέρας); comme ce son est fort semblable à ᵘ, et devient facilement ᵘ, on a pu le noter par Y. Ultérieurement, quand le Γ fut devenu une spirante, ce son put aussi être noté par Γ;[20] la graphie Ταγῆς (Θα-

[16] Quoi qu'en dise E. Schwyzer, ce cas n'est pas absolument sûr, vu la transcription *srtjqs*, où *j* semble indiquer le η.

[17] Θέαγον est mis pour ϑέα(ι)ον, *cf.* G. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 294, § 218; à moins que cette forme ne soit en rapport avec ϑέαφος, ϑεάφιον, ϑεάφη, etc. Dans ce cas on aurait ici une alternance φ — γ très intéressante, *cf. infra.* l'évolution ᵘ — γ.

[18] *Cf.* également κλάγω pour κλάω dans un papyrus du Louvre (51, 16); c'est le seul gamma irrationnel égyptien qui ne soit pas en présence de *i* ou *e*. Pour ἀγούλι *cf. infra.*

[19] Publiée dans le *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XVII, p. 319, no. 11, et commentée par J. Zingerle (ἄωρος) dans les *Bezzenberger Beitr.* (*zur Kunde d. i. g. Spr.*), XXI, pp. 287 *sq.*

[20] Le γ est articulé un peu plus en avant et un peu plus près du palais que le ᵘ.

γῆς) pour Θανῆς, fréquente en Egypte, prouve que l'on eut effectivement recours au gamma pour noter le son ^{u}. Quand Y eut pris la valeur *i*, ou *v* après α ou ε, ce même son ne pouvait plus être noté que par Γ, d'autant plus qu'il s'en était rapproché, par suite d'une prononciation plus forte,[21] ou simplement par suite d'un léger déplacement du point d'articulation.[22] Dans ἀγούλι, gencive, le Γ s'est développé dans le sandhi: τὰ οὔλα, τὰ οὔλια, s'est prononcé ta^{u}uli^{i}a, ta^{u}ul^{i}a, puis tayul^{i}a; on a fini par considérer ceci comme une crase pour τὰ ἀγούλια, et on a étendu ἀγ- aux autres formes du nom. A Bova, en Calabre, οὔλον est devenu *gule, cf, infra,* au sujet du gamma initial.

Le même phénomène se produisit dans quelques verbes dont le radical se termine par -ου- : entre ce -ου- et la voyelle initiale de la terminaison s'est évidemment développé un ^{u} de transition, qui s'est changé en Γ: ἀκούγω (*cf. Akugu* à Cardeto, près de Bova), κρούγω.[23]

Dans la conjugaison des verbes καίω, κλαίω, φταίω, se développait un *i* de transition (*cf. supra* à propos de ἀγέρας) ; devant *e* ou *i*, il put être noté par un gamma. Par analogie avec les conjugaisons πάω, πᾷς, etc. —-πάγω, πάγεις, etc.; ἀκούω, etc. — ἀκούγω, etc., les formes καίω, καίγεις, etc. furent réparties dans deux conjugaisons:

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[21] *Cf.* l'évolution a^{e}eras (ἀέρας) — a^{i}eras (ἀγέρας), et -νν- devenant -γν- par suite d'une prononciation appuyée (voir note 1).

[22] *Cf. les notes* 17 et 20, et *infra* l'évolution ^{u} — γ^{u} (g^{u}). Le son ^{u} n'a jamais été bien résistant en grec, sauf comme second élément de diphtongue: avant et pendant l'époque classique, il disparaissait; comme second élément de diphtongue il devint *v* à la fin du III^{e} S. en Béotie, au début du II^{e} S. dans le grec d'Egypte (tout au moins devant consonne).

[23] Ce γ a pu devenir très facilement ^{i} devant *e* ou *i*, soit phonétiquement (*cf. infra* παρασκευή à côté de δουλεύγω), soit par analogie avec la conjugaison des verbes en -γω. Il est encore possible que dès le début la semi-voyelle de transition y fût ^{i}, *cf. supra* à propos de ἀγέρας. Le Γ de αὐγὸν doit peut-être s'expliquer comme suit: la forme ancienne, ᾠόν, se prononçait o^{o}on, o^{u}on (*cf.* l'explication de ἀυώρω, Πυθίαυος); le ^{u} devint γ, et on obtint une prononciation *ogon*. Le *o* initial fut changé en *au*, tout comme dans l'ancien ὠτίον, et ainsi l'on arriva à αὐγόν. Dans l'ancien ᾶα, ᾷα, se développa de la même manière un γ (o^{o}a, o^{u}a, oγa), je pense; mais par suite de l'adjonction d'un suffixe -ια (peut-être le fém. du suffixe d'adj. -ιος ?), le γ fut réduit au son ^{i}: οὔγια, οὔϊα; dans la Terra d'Otranto, le P devant voyelle antérieure devient *š* (chuintante), et ᾷα y est devenu, dans les patois romans, *oša, uša, cf.* G. Rohlfs, ᾷα, p. 287. (Pour *š, cf. ibid.,* p. XLIV, 13).

καίω, καῖς, etc. et καίγω, καίγεις, etc. On trouve de même, dans la région de Bova, *kligo* (Condofuri, Chorio di Rochudi) et *klígu* (Cardete) équivalant à κλείω, κλείνω.

De même encore, une forme analogique telle que ἐρώταε,[24] prononcée *erotaᵉe, erotaⁱe,* entraîna à sa suite toute une conjugaison ἐρώταγα, ἐρώταγες, etc., en tous points semblable à ἐφύλαγα, ἐφύλαγες, etc., tandis que ρωτάει, où -αει- était immédiatement devenu diphtongue, ne provoqua qu'une conjugaison semi-contracte ρωτάω,[25] ρωτᾷς, etc., identique à πάω, πᾷς, etc., *cf.* A. Thumb, *Hdb. d. neugriech. Volksspr.*, p. 113 § 188.[26]

Ce même auteur (*op. cit.*, p. 15, § 23) rapporte que dialectalement un gamma est parfois ajouté devant une voyelle initiale, et donne comme ex.: γαῖμα, γέρημος, γίδιος. Le gamma de ce genre n'équivaut pas toujours à un [1]: dans les dialectes du Pont p. ex. on trouve γουρύζω = ὠρύζω, γούς = ἕως, à Bova *gulo* = οὖλον (grec moderne ἀγούλι, *cf. supra*), en Calabre septentrionale (Cassano) γáyimu = ἄζυμος.[27] Ces formes doivent être nées dans le sandhi,[28] et le gamma provient du son de transition que nous avons déjà rencontré dans ἀγέρας et ἄγουρος.

Dans certains dialectes modernes (ceux de Crète, de Chypre et des îles de la Mer Egée) un Γ est intercalé entre *v* (β, υ des diphtongues αυ et ευ) et une voyelle, p. ex. πιστεύγω, χορεύγω, δουλεύγω, παρασκευγή, βγαγγέλιο, νίβγω, κόβγω, κρύβγω, *cf.* A. Thumb, *Hdb.*

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[24] Cette forme est composée de l'ancienne forme contracte ἐρώτα + la terminaison de la 3ᵉ pers. sg. de l'imparfait actif -ε.

[25] L'existence de ρωτάω sans doublet * ρωτάγω ne prouve rien d'autre que l'impossibilité *actuelle* de l'évolution -αω — -aᵒo-, -aᵘo- — -αγο-.

[26] Cette conjugaison spéciale des contractes en -ῶ, -ᾷς, est employée en Epire, en Grèce Centrale, dans les Iles Ioniennes, en Italie méridionale (à Bova), et surtout en Morée.

[27] *Cf.* G. Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, p. XLIV, 11. Dans *spuríga* = σπορία, le *g* peut provenir d'un *i* de transition, *cf. géma* à côté de *yéma* (αἷμα), etc.

[28] *Cf.* νοικοκύρις, νήλιος, νύπνος, etc., A. Thumb, *Hdb. d. neugr. Volksspr.*, p. 19, § 33, 3. Il est remarquable que la prothèse du N ait affecté des subst. masc., qui, partant, sont souvent précédés de τόν, tandis que les mots que nous examinons, et qui prennent Γ, ne sont que rarement (les adjectifs) ou jamais (les subst. neutres, les adverbes) précédés de cet article.

d. neugriech. Volksspr., p. 15, § 23; pp. 77 *sq.*, § 151, I, 1 a.[29] A Bova, et parfois à Otranto, la terminaison verbale -εύω devient *-e(g)g^{u}o*, p. ex. *platégwo* = πλατεύω, πλατειάζω; *yatrégguo* = ἰατρεύω; *nistéguo* = νηστεύω; *kladéggwo* = κλαδεύω; *δulégwo* = δουλεύω (Otranto); mais aussi *parassogwí*, *parasegwí*, *parassegí*, etc. dans la région de Bova, *parassogwí*, *parasegví*, *parasegí*, etc. dans la Terra d'Otranto, = παρασκευή. Ce dernier traitement doit évidemment être rapproché de faits italiens et français tels que: germanique (v. h. all.) *werra* = italien *guerra*,[30] français *guerre* (guerre); germ. *waidanian* = it. *guadagnare*, vieux fr. *guaagner*, fr. *gagner* (gagner); germ *wisa* = it. *guisa*, fr. *guise* (guise); lat. *uastare* + germ. *wastian* = it. *guastare*, fr. *gâter* (gâter); all. *Welf* = it. *Guelfe*, fr. *Guelfe* (Guelfe); etc. On peut aussi comparer l'évolution du -λ- intervocalique en Calabre septentrionale et dans la province de Cosenza, p. ex. χελώνη = *yiwéna* — *yigwéna* — *tsigóne*, *cf.* G. Rohlfs, *Etymol. Wb. d. unterital. Gräzität*, p. XLV. Dans certains idiomes et à certaines époques, ^{u} tend donc à développer un γ ou un *g* (remontant sans doute à un ancien γ). Celui-ci apparaît au début de la syllabe, immédiatement avant le ^{u},[31] et résulte d'un effort pour prononcer *distinctement* le son *u* devant une voyelle. En Italie méridionale, -εύω etc. devint *-egue*, *-eggue*, etc.; on y prononçait donc *-e-uo* etc., tout comme dans les régions où -εύω devint *-evo*. La prononciation classique était *-eu^{u}o*, *cf.* E.

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[29] Le domaine du Γ entre υ second élément de diphtongue et une quelconque voyelle semble avoir été plus grand: certaines transcriptions de mots grecs en slavon en portent des traces ainsi *Evga* = Εὔα, *Levg'ii* = Λευεί, *Levg'it* = Λευείτης, *paraskevg'ii* = παρασκευή, *cf.* E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, p. 165, 15, & p. 209, γ. *Cf.* également les graphies εὐεργέτης (papyrus du II^{e} S.) et εὐγιλάτου (inscr. d'Egypte du II^{e} S.), citées par E. Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 209, γ.

[30] L'italien *gu* note le complexe *g^{u}*, et non *g* seul (comme le français *gu*); pour le son *g* devant voyelle antérieure, on emploie en italien le groupe de lettres *gh*.

[31] Ne pas confondre ce ^{u} avec le ^{u} second élément de diphtongue. Leurs trainements sont souvent différents: tandis que le ^{u} second élément de diphtongue devenait *v*, le ^{u} de transition devenait γ dans certains dialects grecs, *cf. infra* (about δουλεύγω).

Schwyzer, *op. ct.*, pp. 236, 2; 197; après le ᵘ second élément de diphtongue, il y avait une semi-voyelle de transition, identique à celle que nous avons trouvée dans ἀκούω.[32] Dès lors, les formes en -εύγω (-evγo) etc. des dialectes de Crète, de Chypre et des îles de la Mer Egée s'expliquent aisément: tout comme dans ἀκούω, le ᵘ de transition est devenu γ.[3] Dans des formes telles que νίβγω, κόβγω, etc., le gamma doit être secondaire et analogique: exactement comme ailleurs (où l'on dit νίβω, κόβω, etc.) le son *v* fut repris aux terminaisons -εύω (pron. *-evo*) et -αύω (pron. *-avo*),[34] par suite de la similitude de certaines formes,[35] le complexe -νγ- (-βγ-) fut repris ici pour les *mêmes* raisons aux *mêmes* verbes, qui se terminent ici par *-νγo*, etc. (-ευγω, -αυγω, etc.).

* * *

Il est probable que le nombre de mots avec gamma irrationnel a été autrefois bien plus grand qu'actuellement. Certains de ces mots peuvent être sortis de l'usage. D'autre part, l'épenthèse du gamma doit avoir eu un domaine bien plus étendu qu'il ne l'est actuellement: c'est ainsi que s'expliquent les formes ζεύω et φεύω qu'on trouve dans les dialectes du Pont: la termination verbale -εύω devint -εύγω, *cf. supra,* et les nouveaux verbes en -εύγω se confondirent entièrement avec les anciens; ultérieurement le gama disparut, aussi bien de l'ancienne que de la nouvelle terminaison -εύγω, *cf.* A. Thumb, *Hdb. d. neugr. Volksspr.*, pp. 77 *sq.*, 1 a. Et, *last last not least,* le Γ était toujours susceptible de disparaître entre deux voyelles ou au début d'un mot, c. à. d. *précisément dans les positions où un gamma irrationnel a pu se développer.*

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[32] Mais différente de celle qui se développait entre la voyelle et une autre voyelle, p. ex. dans ὑός; étant antérieure (articulée près de *i*), elle n'a pas pu devenir γ.

[33] Sans doute n'est-ce pas un simple hasard, que la prononciation *-euᵘo*, *-evγo*, a subsisté principalement dans la région où il y a toujours eu des géminées: dans *-euᵘo* il y a en somme une semi-voyelle géminée.

[34] Les verbes se terminant par -βω (sauf les formes créés par l'analogie) sont fort rares.

[35] P. ex. (ἐ)δούλευσα = (e)δule*psa* comme ἔκοψα = eko*psa*; δούλευσις = δule*psis* comme κόψις = ko*psis*; ἐπαύτηκα = epa*ftika* comme ἐκόφτηκα = eko*ftika*; δουλευτής = δule*ftis* comme κόφτης, κόπτης = ko*ftis*; δούλεμα = δule*ma*, ῥέμα (ρεῦμα) = *rema* comme κόμμα = k*oma*, etc.

Les différentes sortes de gamma irrationnels que nous avons distinguées n'ont sans doute pas fait leur apparition simultanément: le Γ de γιατρός et celui de ἀγέρας ne furent possibles que quand Γ fut devenu ⁱ devant voyelle antérieure, tandis que celui de ἀκούγω et celui de ἄγουρος (rementant à ἄνωρος) date d'avant l'isolement des Grecs d'Italie, et, sans doute, même d'avant la conquête de la *Magna Graecia* par Justinien, puisqu'on trouve *akugu* à Bova et *ávro*[36] dans la Terra d'Otranto; celui de δουλεύγω etc. (qui a la même origine que celui de ἀκούγω!), est, je crois, antérieur à la prononciation spirante du Y second élément de diphtongue.[37]

Les explications que j'ai proposées plus haut ne sont que des conjectures. On ne pourra rien affirmer d'absolument sûr avant d'avoir réuni et examiné à fond *tous* les cas d'adjonction et de suppression de gamma.

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[36] Pour le *v* correspondant à un γ, *cf.* p. ex. *voníome* (Otranto) = ἀγωνιῶμαι.

[37] On le retrouve aussi en Egypte, *cf.* note 29.

DU NOUVEAU SUR LES PRINCES DE THEODORO-MANGOUP EN GOTHIE CRIMEENNE

Dans sa magistrale étude sur l'histoire de la principauté des descendants des anciens Goths de la Crimée, M. Vasiliev utilise certaines données, éparses par différents travaux généalogiques russes, sur le prince Etienne de Théodoro-Mangoup dans la Gothie criméenne, entré dans les ordres sous le nom de Simon et qui aurait émigré, avec un de ses fils, Grégoire, en Russie moscovite au début du XV[e] siècle.[1] La mémoire du prince Grégoire, dont la postérité forma une famille noble désignée par les noms de Khovrin et Golovin (modifications du nom de la famille historique byzantine des Gabrâs, apparentée aux Comnène et liée aussi à la lignée des princes de Gothie), reste attachée aux largesses dont il combla le célèbre couvent de Simonov près de Moscou, homonyme — pour cause ou par accident — au nom monastique de son père. Son frère Alexis, fils aîné d'Etienne-Simon, est celui des princes de Mangoup dont le souvenir historique fut, peut-être, le plus durable dans sa petite patrie. Mais sur Etienne-Simon lui-même, leur père, on ne possédait aucun témoignage authentique écrit, de caractère public ou privé, sinon une brève mention dans un synodicon, d'une date postérieure non seulement à sa propre mort, mais aussi à celle de ses deux fils. Or, celui de ces derniers qui lui succéda en Gothie, Alexis, mourut, comme l'a établi M. Vasiliev,[2] environ l'an 1445, ce qui donne un *terminus a quo* évidemment éloigné de la vraie date de la mort de Simon.

Un heureux hasard nous a aidé à trouver une nouvelle mention de notre prince-moine dans un document dont l'existence était connue depuis la fin du siècle passé, mais qui ne fut publié *in extenso* — et par celui-là même qui l'avait jadis découvert et résumé, le regretté M. Iorga — que quelques ans avant la mort tragique de ce dernier.

Dans ses utiles *Notices et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des*

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[1] A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 199 et notes.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 201, 219.

croisades au XV^e siècle,[3] M. Iorga, il y a presque un demi-siècle, publia, sous la date du 19 avril 1435, ce qu'il nomma à cette occasion "la proposition du seigneur de Maurocastrum . . . qui caloierus est." L' extrait ne laissa pas d'être aperçu et utilisé — et par M. Iorga tout le premier. Une théorie, ancienne et fausse, indentifiait, dès avant M. Iorga, la "ville Noire," le Maurocastrum de la correspondance vénitienne et génoise (on ne trouve jamais ce nom si purement byzantin dans les documents grecs), avec la "ville Blanche," le Moncastro- Albocastro à l'embouchure du Dniester (Akkerman des Turco-Tatares, Belgorod-Dnestrovskij d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui). Ce dernier était, depuis le commencement du XV^e siècle, une des plus importantes villes de la principauté de Moldavie, nouvellement constituée comme une sorte de *Reststaat* après l'absorption du noyau de l'ancienne Galicie russe par la Pologne, et parfois, comme, par exemple, sous Alexandre, nommé "le Bon" par la doctrine officielle roumaine, sa capitale. La question s'imposait donc de savoir qui pouvait être ce prince-moine qui aurait régné à Maurocastron, donc à Moncastro-Belgorod-Akkerman, donc sur la Moldavie, en 1435, trois ans seulement après la mort, en 1432,[4] d'Alexandre "le Bon," dont l'héritage tomba immédiatement en possession de ses deux fils Ilyá et Stetzko des chroniques slavo-moldaves, Ilias et Stefan chez les historiens roumains. Quand il aborda ce problème pour la première fois,[5] M. Iorga se borna à attribuer au *caloier* (moine) l'emploi de *pârcalab* (*purkrabí, porkoláb:* mot tchèque et hongrois provenant de *Burggraf,* comme le *burgrave* français), en supposant, dans des termes d'ailleurs assez hésitants, que, peut-être, des burgraves pouvaient être en même temps membres du clergé. Dans un autre contexte, M. Iorga a pensé à certain "pop Iuga," sujet de Stetzko, fils d'Alexandre.[6] Tout de même, l'illustre historien restait loin d'être satisfait. Ce qu'il lui fallait, c'était un véritable prince en chair et en os, régnant, dans une forme ou une autre, sur Maurocastron, le prétendu Moncastro-Akkerman de la Moldavie, environ 1435 et com-

[3] I, pp. 573-4 et 581 du tiré à part qui m'est inaccessible, ou *Revue de l' Orient latin,* VI (Par. 1898), pp. 135-6 et 143.

[4] La date manque dans le texte de la récente *Histoire des Roumains* de M. Iorga! Nous suivons la chronologie, du reste traditionnelle, donnée par Mme V. Vasiliu-Sacerdoteanu dans le *Bulletin of the Intern. Comm. of Histor. Sciences,* VII, No. 26 (Par. 1935), pp. 56-64.

[5] N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei si Cetatii-Albe* (Buc. 1899), p. 93.

[6] Voir, sur ce pop Iuga, le peu qu'en sait dire M. C. C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor,* II, 2 (Buc. 1940), p. 490.

binant sa haute position avec la condition d'un religieux. Mais le moyen d'introduire, dans l'histoire sanglante de la lutte acharnée des deux frères ennemis et dont les événements forment un tissu si dru et si ferme, un troisième rival! Il a fallu quarante ans à l'ingénieux historien pour mettre debout l'histoire qui suit, et qu'on peut tirer, avec quelque effort toutefois, d'un de ses mémoires, publié en 1937.[7]

Il existe, dans les annales de la Moldavie, un prince Pierre Aron; l'ingénieux M. Iorga a donc cru que le nom biblique d'Aaron était une preuve suffisante du caractère monastique de son porteur; et il ne s'est pas donné la peine de chercher, ou de nous présenter, une raison autrement convaincante d'identifier le prince-moine de Maurocastro avec Pierre Aron de Moldavie. Il ne s'est pas mis davantage en peine d'expliquer ce cas de "césaropapisme," inouï dans l'histoire ecclésiastique des peuples pontiques orthodoxes. La difficulté, même pour M. Iorga, gisait dans le fait que le commencement du règne de Pierre Aron, marqué par l'acte, peu ascétique d'ailleurs, du meurtre de son prédécesseur,[8] ne tombe qu'en octobre 1452 seulement. La contradiction chronologique fut tranchée victorieusement par M. Iorga qui créa, spécialement pour l'occurrence, je veux dire pour expliquer le cas de Pierre Aron "le moine," l'institution du gouvernorat: en 1435 le jeune moine n'aurait donc été qu'une sorte de gouverneur autonome d'Akkerman. Inutile de répondre que ceci contredirait à tout ce qu'on sait sur la situation politique d'Akkerman, qui, à cette époque, était la résidence de celui des deux frères rivaux, Ilyá et Stetzko, qui n'avait pu s'emparer de la capitale officielle de la Moldavie—la Sotchava de la liste ancienne des villes de la Russie danubienne,[9] Suceava en roumain moderne.

Depuis, le fantôme du "prince-moine de Cetatea-Alba" fut introduit par M. Iorga dans le plus monumental de ses nombreux remaniements de l'histoire de sa patrie, qui devait être le dernier.[10] Ce fantôme est pourvu de toutes les qualités nécessaires pour ré-

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[7] "Noi descoperiri privitoare la istoria Românilor," *Acad. Româna, Mem. Sect. Istor.*, Ser. III, t. 19, mem. 13.

[8] C'était le prince Bogdan II et qui aurait été un fils illégitime d'Alexandre "le Bon"; quant à l'origine de Pierre Aron lui-meme, les historiens roumains se contentent de le déclarer, avec un peu d'ambigüité évidente, frère du bâtard: cp. C. C. Giurescu, *Ist. Român.*, II, 1 (Buc. 1940), pp. 25, 28.

[9] *Poln. Sobr. Russk. Letop.*, VII (St. Pét. 1856), p. 240; *ibid.*, IV, 1-re part., fasc. 3 (Lgr. 1929), p. 623.

[10] *Hist. des Roumains*, IV (Buc. 1937), pp. 60, 85.

ussir dans le monde des érudits. Aussi poursuivra-t-il sa marche, macabre mais triomphale, de manuel en manuel, s'il n'est pas arrêté net et renvoyé au néant auquel il appartient.

Quels sont donc les témoignages documentaires sur lesquels se basaient les "nouvelles découvertes" de M. Iorga et son identification "définitive" du "gouverneur-moine"? Il s'agit de trois notices dans un régistre du Sénat vénitien, notices que nous pouvons identifier ici par leurs sigles donnés par M. Iorga lui-même, au temps où il en publia un résumé, trop court, dans ses *Notes et Extraits:*[11] *Sen. Misti,* reg. 59, fol. 105 v° pour les deux premières et fol. 147 v° pour la troisième.

Nous reproduisons les deux premières de ces notices, qui seules nous occuperont ici, d'après la réédition de M. Iorga, *ad calcem* de son mémoire cité, en faisant usage des facsimilés qui y sont donnés pour corriger les erreurs typographiques ou autres dans le texte imprimé par l'éditeur:[12]

Ser Franc. Mocenigo.
Ser Zacharias Donato.
Ser Geronimus Baduarius.
Ser Andreas Bembo.
Ser Laur. Lauredanus.
Sapientes ordinum.

Die XVIIII° [13] Aprilis.
. . . . . Baiulo Constantinopolis[14]

Deliberavimus in nomine Yhesu Ch(rist)i facere provisionem ut merca-

[11] Voir ci-dessus, n. 3.

[12] Les deux entrées qui se trouvent, dans le régistre original, sur le *verso* de la même feuille, se suivent immédiatement, et auraient dû être reproduites sur une même planche, qu'elles auraient exactement remplies. M. Iorga préféra, pour des raisons à lui, les distribuer sur deux planches, en remplissant l'espace resté libre par d'autres choses qui, conjointement, auraient justement occupé l'autre planche. — Au dessus de la reproduction de la première des deux notices (Pl. 1), apparaît la dernière ligne d'une notice précédente, portant cette date: "die XII aprilis 1435," ce qui précise l'année dans la date de nos deux notes à nous qui ne portent que le quantième du mois mais non le millésime.

[13] Ainsi dans le facsimilé et dans *Notes et Extraits,* XVII dans la nouvelle réimpression.

[14] La ligne manque dans la réédition et ses deux premiers mots sont illisibles dans le facsimilé.

tores et cives nostri in loco Maurocastri devetero[15] possint facere mercaturam et singulis annis ad illum locum mittere instituimus unam ex nostris galeis viagii Romanie. Volumus ergo et vobis cum nostro Consilio Rogatorum mandamus quod de hac nostra intentione detis noticiam domino Maurocastri et aut per literas aut per nuncium proprium, sicut vobis melius videbitur posse adimplere nostram intentionem, debeatis vos intelligere cum domino predicto et habere ab eo immunitatem, franchisias, libertates et alias commoditates galeis, navibus ac mercatoribus nostris illuc mercatorio more accedentibus et conversantibus, que esse possint utilia et fructuosa.

Et exnunc sit captum quod una ex tribus galeis viagii Romanie que hoc anno armabuntur vadat ad Maurocastrum illo ordine qui per hoc consilium dabitur.

de parte	148.	
de non	5.	
non sinceri	3.	Sine consilio.

Insuper[16] pro informatione materie suprascripte vobis declaramus quod nobilis vir ser Marinus Zane, precessor vester, nostro dominio denotavit quod, dum esset baiulus Constantinopolis, pater illius qui dominat[17] Maurocastro, qui caloierus est, fuit ad eum in secreto et sibi dixit et instetit ut vellet apud nostrum dominium intercedere ut aliqua ex galeis viagii nostri Romanie ad Maurocastrum accederet, quoniam filius suus, dominus dicti doci faceret mercatoribus et civibus nostris, galeis ac navibus nostris illas commoditates et exemptiones circa datia et gabellas que erunt honeste et rationabiles, et nostri merito poterunt contentari ibique stare ac mercari. Quare de huiusmodi intentione dabitis noticiam illi nuncio quem ad Maurocastrum mittetis ut sit cum illo

[15] Om. Iorga.
[16] *Iusuper* Iorga.
[17] *Dominatur* Iorga.

caloiero, patre[18] dicti domini ut materia meliorem executionem habere possit.

datum die XXVII Aprilis presentis.

Il s'agit donc, on le voit, d'une copie de l'instruction, rédigée par une commission de cinq sénateurs, et qui fut approuvée au vote dans une séance plénière, pour un bailli (consul) vénitien à Constantinople et le sommant de faire part au "dominateur" de Maurocastrum de l'intention qu'avait le Sénat d' entrer en relations commerciales avec cette ville. La notice suivante reproduit évidemment un complément à cet ordre au bailli, émané, hors de séance, de la plume d'un secrétaire, et qui lui fait part d'une visite qu'avait reçue jadis son prédécesseur (ou, plutôt, un de ses prédécesseurs) Marino Zane (et c'est de la bouche de ce vétéran, sans doute, que ce récit est recueilli). Le visiteur était un *calogher* (religieux de rite orthodoxe), père de celui qui dominait à Maurocastro. La phraséologie de l'original (pater illus qui dominatur Maurocastro qui caloierus est) est, en effet, ambiguë, et, au premier abord, on ne parvient pas à comprendre lequel des deux est moine — le père ou le fils. M. Iorga, tenté tout de suite par la chance de créer un problème prosopographique nouveau dans l'histoire de la ville pseudo-moldavienne de Maurocastro, crut, en 1898, qu'il s'agissait du fils; et il est resté fidèle à sa vieille hypothèse jusqu'au bout. Mais deux passages ultérieurs de la réédition — "filius suus dominus dicti loci" et "cum illo caloiero patre dicti domini" — que M. Iorga n'a pas voulu comprendre, ne laissent aucune place au doute. C'est bien le père qui était dans les ordres, étant, sans doute, un prince déposé ou "démissionnaire," et non le fils qui fut son successeur, ce qui est, d'ailleurs, très naturel. La difficulté d'expliquer le cumul, si étranger aux usages de l'Orient orthodoxe, d'une haute fonction politique avec la "condition angélique"—un problème que, du reste, M. Iorga, encore une fois, ne songea pas à poser ouvertement — se trouve donc être illusoire, comme, du reste, toute la théorie si artificielle et invraisemblable de l'historien roumain.

Quant à la véritable identité du moine, père d'un prince, la rareté du phénomène de l'abdication suivie par l'entrée de l'ex-prince dans les ordres qu'on a dans le cas de Maurocastron et dans cet autre cas, établi par M. Vasiliev, de la Gothie criméenne, suffit déjà à elle seule pour faire constater une identité. La première et la plus importante

[18] Ainsi clairement dans le facsimilé, mais *parte* dans la réédition, ce qui s'avère très utile pour obscurcir le sens.

conséquence de cette identification aurait donc dû être l'abandon de la vieille, mais absurde, théorie qui mettait le signe d'égalité entre la Cité Noire — le Maurocastro des documents génois, vénitiens et franciscains — et la Cité Blanche — l'Albocastro-Mocastro-Belgorod-Akkerman à l'embouchure du Dniester. Car si le Maurocastron de l'an 1435 était gouverné par un prince dont le père avait pris le froc et qui, par conséquent, ne peut nullement être identique à aucun des deux princes contemporains de la Moldavie done le père, Alexandre "le Bon," n'a jamais été moine, ce Maurocastron, évidemment, ne saurait ni être identique avec Mocastro ni, plus généralement, faire part de la Moldavie. Cette dernière théorie, qu'ont partagée tant d'autorités, nous l'avions déjà quelque peu ébranlée en faisant valoir contre elle une série de données dont la plus positive est celle-ci: dans les listes géographiques des Franciscains, on trouve aussi bien *Albocastro* que *Maurocastro*; qui plus est, ils sont placés dans différentes unités administratives de cet ordre illustre: Albocastro, comme de droit, dans la Province de Russie, avec d'autres villes anciennement russes de la Galicie, de la Podolie et de la Bessarabie d'aujourd'hui; et Maurocastro justement dans la Gazarie,[19] c'est à dire dans la même Crimée où nous dirige maintenant encore une fois l'identité du prince-moine de Maurocastro découvert par M. Iorga avec Etienne-Simon de la Gothie criméenne mis au jour par M. Vasiliev.

Une objection d'ordre chronologique pourrait être émise. L'écart entre les dates d'environ 1391-1403 dans le cas de la prétendue arrivée, voire émigration, d'Etienne-Simon en Russie et celle de 1435 pour le récit de Marino Zane est considérable. Mais cet écart n'est qu'un semblant. Rien n'empêche d'admettre que Marino Zane précéda de pas mal d'années, comme bailli à Constantinople, le destinataire de l'instruction de 1435. La liste des baillis vénitiens à Constantinople semble n'avoir jamais été dressée et, par exemple, la personnalité de celui de l'époque entre 1425 et 1430 intriguait déjà M. Iorga lui-même.[20]

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[19] *Byzantion,* XII (Bruxelles, 1937), 164. Dans cet article je renvoie expressément (*ibidem,* p. 155, n. 3) aux listes reproduits par Wadding dans ses célèbres *Annales Minorum,* VI (Quaracchi, 1931), 256, et surtout IX (1932), 296 et 298; vieille édition: VI (Rome, 1733), 227, et IX (1734), 232-3. Le R. P. V. Laurent, en lisant mon article, a cru que la longueur de mes commentaires tâche à cacher un manque de documentation, et ne s'est pas donné la peine de vérifier mes citations: *Echos d'Orient,* XXXVIII (Buc. 1939), 101.

[20] *Notes et Extraits,* sous la date du 8 mai 1430, n. 7: *Rev. de l'Or. lat.,* VI (1898), 80-81. Mes recherches dans les chroniques des derniers Byzantins;

D'autre part, rien ne nous force à avancer la date de l'abdication d'Etienne-Simon jusqu'au commencement même du XV[e] siècle. L'écart de quelques 50 ans entre une telle date et celle de la mort, violente (et probablement dans la fleur de l'âge), de son fils et successeur Alexis, la rend peu probable, ce que sentait déjà M. Vasiliev (*op. cit.*, 201). Les phrases stéréotypées des généalogies russes, où l'on trouve des centaines de cas d'une prétendue immigration de telle noble famille venant de Prusse, de Lithuanie ou de Grèce, n'ont point valeur de source primordiale. Dans notre cas, elles pourraient, tout au plus, réfléchir la confusion de deux événements: visite pos-

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dans maint volume de la nouvelle et grandiose édition des *Scriptores rer. ital.* de L. A. Muratori; dans les 121 volmes d'une collection complète du *(Nuovo) Archivio Veneto* (1871-1931); dans les diplomataires vénéto-levantins; et dans les ouvrages historiques de Cappelletti, Romanin, Fallmerayer, Tafel, Thomas, Hopf, Heyd, Baschet, Noiret, Sathas, Miklosich et Müller, Zinkeisen, Kretschmayr, W. Miller, Iorga, Silberschmidt, Bratianu, Candioti, d'autres encore, n'ont pas abouti à la découverte d'une liste quelconque de baillis ni d'une autre mention du bailli Marino Zane, dont la famille est pourtant si étroitement liée, pendant des siècles entiers, aux affaires levantines de l'époque byzantine et surtout turque. Nous faisons suivre les références à des baillis vénitiens à Contantinople, cités ou non par nom, recueillies en dépouillant les *Notes et Extraits* de M. Iorga, avec leurs dates et en citant la *Rev. de l'Or. lat.* par volume et page: 8/V et 10/X/1421 et 2/II/1422: Bened. Emo (V, 111, 113, 117); 26/VIII, 13/IX et 2/IX/1422 (V, 124, 125, 126); 8-13/VI/1423 (1422 par erreur typographique): Pierre Contarini élu ambassadeur vénitien à Constantinople; plus tard, M. Iorga confondra ce poste avec celui d'un bailli (V, 139); 27/VII/1423: bailli B. Emo (V, 144); 17/IV/1424 (V, 166); 16/VII/1424 (V, 172: c'était toujours Contarini selon Iorga qui, en ignorant Emo, renvoie, dans sa note 1, à la date de 8-13/VII/1423, avec, par erreur répétée, le millésime 1422); 2-4/IV/1425 (V, 195; Iorga, toujours ignorant Emo, renvoie, dans n. 3, encore une fois à la première mention de Contarini, en mettant, cette fois, la date correcte); 10/VII/1425: un bailli de Constantinople que Iorga, dans son texte explicatif, nomme Pierre Contarini, probablement à tort (V, 200); v. aussi V, 204, n. 2; 29/IV/1430 (VI, 80); 8/V/1430: Martin de Musto (VI, 80-81 et n. 7); 28/VII/1430: Martin de Musto (VI, 86); 4/VIII/1431 et 15/III/1433: Martin de Musto (VI, 107 et n. 5; 120); 25/VII/1433 (VI, 121 et n. 6); 8/IX/1433 (VI, 125); 19/IV/1435 (VI, 135-6: le passage discuté dans le présent article); 22/X/1441: Marco Quirini (VII, 48); 28/I/1444 (VII, 388); 6/II/1444 (VII, 392); 18/V/1444: Andrea Foscolo, bailli élu (VII, 410); 11/V/1445 (VIII, 13); 18-21/IV/1446 (VIII, 19); 28/VII/1446: Dardo Moro (VIII, 20); 25/II/1446: Andrea Foscolo (VIII, 23); IX/1446: Andrea Foscolo (VIII, 26); 11/IV/1451: les baillis de C. (VIII, 76); 15/V/1452: Officium Balie (VIII, 85); 17/VII/1453: Jérôme Minotto (VIII, 101-2); 1453: Jérôme Minotto (VIII, 111); 1453: le bailli et sa famille massacrés, selon la chronique F 20 de Dresde (VIII, 114, n. 1).

sible d'Etienne, encore jeune, à Moscou, du temps de Basile I ou même de Démétrius Donskoï; et l'arrivée à Moscou de son second fils, Grégoire, qui peut même avoir précédé l'abdication d'Etienne.

Les sources généalogiques utilisées par M. Vasiliev nous sont, malheuresement, inaccessibles. Mais nous possédons des données décisives pour réfuter les objections de ceux qui refuseraient à admettre qu'Etienne-Simon, qui aurait émigré en Russie depuis environ 1400, qui y devint fondateur, donateur et hégoumène du célèbre couvent de Simonov, comme semble croire M. Vasiliev, et qui, probablement, y mourut, aurait pu apparaître devant un bailli vénitien à Constantinople à une date qui restait encore dans la mémoire de certains fonctionnaires en 1435. La vérité incontestable est que ce couvent, fondé dès l'an 1370, fut transféré à son site traditionnel en 1379 [21] par St. Théodore, neveu de St. Serge de Radonège. Ce Théodore est mentionné *comme hégoumène de Simonov* dans une note *contemporaine* datant de 6890/1382, dans la *Chronique Laurentienne*[22] et dans une autre, datant de 6885/1377.[23] Le nom du couvent n'est donc pas dérivé de celui du prince Etienne-Simon. Aussi ne trouve-t-on pas le nom de Simon dans la liste — complète pour l'époque—des archimandrites de ce couvent,[24] où pourtant on s'attendrait à rencontrer un religieux de cette distinction et père d'un généreux donateur laïque, s'il était vrai Simon était resté auprès de son fils cadet en Russie. Il ne reste donc aucun fondement positif pour croire que le prince Etienne-Simon, lui aussi, émigra en Russie après son abdication et qu'il y mourut. Il devient même probable que son entrée dans les ordres eut lieu après l'arrivée de Grégoire en Russie et que le nom de Simon, s'il ne s'agit pas d'une pure coïncidence, fut suggéré justement par les attaches de son fils avec le clergé moscovite. Rien ne nous force, non plus, à supposer que le prince Etienne, ou le moine Simon, ait jamais émigré ou simplement visité la Russie.

M. N. Banescu, dans une note bibliographique sur les "nouvelles découvertes" de M. Iorga,[25] crut devoir diriger notre attention

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[21] *Rossiya, poln. geogr. opis., pod red. V. P. Semënova*, I (St. Pét. 1899), 319; V. I. Troitzki et S. A. Toropov, *Simonov monastyr'* (Mos. 1927), 3.

[22] *Poln. Sobr. Russk. Letop.*, I (Lgr. 1926), col. 536.

[23] *Ibidem*, VIII (St. Pét. 1859), 32.

[24] [V. V. Passek], *Istorič. opis. Mosk. Simonova mon.* (Mos. 1843), 210 ss.; P. Stroiev, *Spiski ierarkhov i pastyrei monastyrei Rossiyskiya cerkvi* (St. Pét. 1877), col. 149.

[25] Byzant. Zeitschr., XXXVII (1938), 581-2.

spéciale sur ces découvertes qui seraient, selon lui, de nature à refuter nos hérésies, et à nous ramener aux bonnes vieilles théories concernant la relation Maurocastro-Albocastro. Ces "découvertes," dont le bienveillant lecteur aura estimé la juste valeur, nous fournissent, au contraire, dans leur partie documentaire, de nouvelles armes pour défendre nos vues et pour continuer à nier la possibilité d'une identité de "Blanc" avec "Noir."

Elles élargissent aussi un peu l'étroit cercle de lumière qu'a projeté, avec tant d'acribie et de rigueur critique, sur la personalité d'Etienne-Simon M. Vasiliev, dans son livre devenu classique. Un autre résultat de la présente contribution, si modeste qu'elle soit, consiste, croyons-nous, en une rectification des vues sur la localisation de Maurocastron, qui s'avère avoir été, non pas une station du périple pontique sur la voie de la Gothie criméenne, mais une partie de cette principauté elle-même. Les dimensions exiguës de celle-ci, encore rétrécies à l'époque d'Alexis, justifie l'expression de "celui qui domine Maurocastrum," qui, appliquée à un tout incomparablement plus vaste, la Moldavie, aurait été plutôt déplacée. De plus, elles encouragent la tentative d'identifier, enfin, ce mystérieux Maurocastrum criméen. Les vues du présent auteur sur ce sujet, corrigeant certaines de ses affirmations précédentes, n'ont pas atteint une maturité qui leur permettraient d'être émises en compagnie de preuves suffisantes pour les élever au dessus du niveau d'une simple hypothèse.

J. Bromberg

New York.

NICEPHORUS I, THE SAVIOR OF GREECE FROM THE SLAVS (810 A.D.)

The fame of Nicephorus I, writes J. B. Bury, "has suffered, because he had neither a fair historian to do him justice, nor apologists to countervail the coloured statements of opponents. He is described as an unblushing hypocrite, avaricious, cruel, irreligious, unchaste, a perjured slave, a wicked revolutionary. His every act is painted as a crime or a weakness, or as prompted by a sinister motive."[1] In this brief statement Bury has summarized admirably the low position which for a long time it was the lot of Nicephorus to occupy in the history of the Byzantine Empire. It all goes back to Theophanes the Confessor, whose chronicle is virtually the only contemporary source for the reign of Nicephorus. Theophanes, who saw his beloved Irene dethroned by Nicephorus, who detested the religious tolerance of the latter and could not forgive him for imposition of taxes on church and monastic properties, drew a truly libelous picture of Nicephorus, both of his character and of his reign, a picture which became embedded as truth in Byzantine historiography and until recently has been almost generally accepted by modern historians. "Many tyrants have reigned," writes Gibbon, "undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications."[2] The judgment of later scholars, such as Gfrörer[3] and Monnier,[4] was less severe, but still unfavorable. For them as for Gibbon, Nicephorus was a tyrant with very few qualities to his credit.

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[1] J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 8.

[2] Ed. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* edited by J. B. Bury (London, 1898), V, 192.

[3] A. Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichten* (Graz, 1873), II, 408.

[4] H. Monnier, "Études de droit byzantin," in *Nouvelle revue historique de droit Français et étranger,* XIX (Paris, 1895), 57 ff.

This judgment has now been generally abandoned and the work and the policies of Nicephorus are much better appreciated.[5] "One must have a high idea of the Emperor Nicephorus," writes Iorga, "because he himself had a high idea of his power."[6] And in the opinion of Bury "the history of his reign shows him a strong and masterful man, who was fully alive to the difficulties of the task of governing, and was prepared to incur unpopularity in discharging his duty as guardian of the state."[7] Nicephorus' fundamental aim was to protect the frontiers of the Empire both against Arabs and Bulgars, and to rehabilitate the state which was on the verge of collapse as a result of the long and inefficient rule of Irene.

The financial measures of Nicephorus form the basis of the opinion of both his critics and apologists.[8] These measures were summarized by Theophanes[9] who branded them oppressive, and the modern critics of Nicephorus have followed Theophanes, seeing in these measures nothing but the efforts of a tyrant to exact all he could from his subjects. His apologists on the other hand, reviewing his reign with more objectivity, have explained these measures by attributing to Nicephorus no other aim than that of safeguarding the interests of the state and rehabilitating its finances.[10]

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[5] Already Paparrigopoulo expressed an opinion favorable to Nicephorus, «Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους», edited by P. Karolides (Athens, 1925), IIIb, 152 ff.

[6] N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucarest, 1934), II, 44.

[7] Bury, *op. cit.*, 8.

[8] Iorga (*op. cit.*, II, 44 f.) writes about Nicephorus: "Il faut avoir une haute idée de l'empereur Nicéphore, puisqu' il avait lui-même une haute idée de son pouvoir, qu'il déclarait ne vouloir subordonner à personne, tant que le bien de l'Empire serait son but. Il réforma le fisc, ordonna une nouvelle conscription, annula les exemptions, soumit au tribut dit "kapnikon" même les biens du clergé, qu'il administra quelquefois lui-même; il contrôla attentivement le mouvement de la richesse publique, poursuivit les détenteurs des trésors découverts, fit partager à jours fixes les terres non habitées pour accroître le nombre des agriculteurs, fournit des avances aux matelots pour réparer leurs bateaux et défendit l'usure." It is clear that the reason Iorga thinks that "one must have a high idea of the Emperor Nicephorus" is because of the financial measures of the latter, which Iorga summarizes here with an interpretation not entirely accurate.

[9] Theophanes, *Chronographia,* edited by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), I, 486 f.

[10] The most extended study of the financial policy of Nicephorus is given by G. I. Bratianu, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris,

The wars with Krum which finally cost Nicephorus his life occupy, of course, an important place in the history of the reign of Nicephorus, but virtually every discussion of that reign is centered chiefly upon the financial policy of the Emperor, and the fame of Nicephorus falls or rises as that policy is interpreted one way or another. The general tendency at present is to consider that policy wise or at least justified by the state of the finances of the Empire, with the consequence that Nicephorus is regarded as an able statesman and administrator and his reign as an important chapter of the history of Byzantium. But perhaps more important, at least from the point of view of Greece, was another policy of Nicephorus the discussion of which is the purpose of this paper.

The first among the oppressive measures which according to Theophanes were taken by Nicephorus was an order to have Christians from every province of the Empire transplanted to Sclavinia. Theophanes considers this forced emigration worse than imprisonment. Some of those involved, he says, wept over the graves of their fathers and considered the dead more blessed that the living. Others preferred to hang themselves rather than abandon the soil of their birth. The order, however, was carried out and its execution required about six months, from September to Easter, which in that year (810) fell in March.[11]

Doubtless, in view of the short period during which this emigration was carried out, those who were involved had to undergo considerable suffering. Besides, the idea of being forced away from one's home in order to be settled elsewhere among strange and com-

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1938), 186-216. See also Bury, *op. cit.*, 212 ff., and G. Cassimatis, "La dixième 'vexation' de l'empereur Nicéphore," in *Byzantion*, VIII (Brussels, 1932), 149-160.

[11] Theophanes, *op. cit.*, 486: Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Νικηφόρος μετὰ τὰς ἀθέους ὑπεξελεύσεις τὰ στρατεύματα πάντη ταπεινῶσαι σκεψάμενος χριστιανοὺς ἀποικίσας ἐκ παντὸς θέματος ἐπὶ τὰς Σκλαυινίας γενέσθαι προσέταξεν, τὰς δὲ τούτων ὑποστάσεις πιπράσκεσθαι. καὶ ἦν αἰχμαλωσίας οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ πρᾶγμα, πολλῶν ἐξ ἀνοίας βλασφημούντων καὶ ἐχθρῶν ἐφόδους αἰτούντων, ἑτέρων δὲ περὶ τοὺς γονικοὺς τάφους θρηνούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας μακαριζόντων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ ἀγχόναις ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν δεινῶν. τά τε γὰρ προσόντα δυσκίνητα συνεπιφέρεσθαι ἠδυνάτουν καὶ τὴν ἐκ γονικῶν πόνων κτηθεῖσαν ὕπαρξιν ὀλλυμένην ἑώρων· καὶ πᾶσα τοὺς πάντας εἶχεν ἀμηχανία, τῶν μὲν πενήτων ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ῥηθησομένοις, τῶν δὲ ὑπερεχόντων συμπασχόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ δυναμένων βοηθῆσαι ἀπεκδεχομένων τε βαρυτέρας συμφοράς. ταῦτα ἤρχθη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα πεπέρασται.

paratively barbaric peoples was not one which could be welcome to many people. But there was nothing strange or unusual about this order of Nicephorus. The transplanting of peoples from one region to another for reasons of state was frequently resorted to in Byzantium before and after the reign of Nicephorus I. Justinian II removed numerous Slavs from Macedonia and settled them in Asia Minor; he also settled some Cypriotes in Thrace about the Hellespont. The same Emperor removed the Mardaites from the Taurus regions to the interior of Asia Minor, a disastrous act, for it left the frontiers open to the razzias of the Arabs. In 751 Constantine V settled numerous Armenians in Thrace along the Bulgarian frontiers, as a bulwark against the Bulgarians. The same Emperor moved many Greeks to Constantinople whose population had been depleted by the terrible plague of 747. He also transferred to Bithynia many Slavs, estimated by the Byzantine chronicler, Nicephorus, perhaps not without exaggeration, at 208,000. Nicephorus' measure, therefore, was well within the scope of a long-established Byzantine practice,[12] and its object was no different from the object of similar measures taken by his predecessors. Of particular interest in the measure of Nicephorus is the meaning of Sclavinia and the ethnic consequences of the settlement there of Christians brought from other parts of the Empire.

Sclavinia means, of course, the land of the Slavs, but, in this case, land under the direct jurisdiction of the Empire. One immediately thinks of Thrace and Macedonia: numerous Slavonic tribes had settled there and their presence, especially near the borders of Bulgaria, was always a source of trouble. As Nicephorus' reign from the beginning to the end was troubled by wars with the Bulgars, there has been almost a universal tendency to locate the Sclavinia of this passage of Theophanes in Macedonia or Thrace, along the frontiers of the regions especially menaced by the Bulgars.[13] But the passage of Theophanes as it stands gives no clue whatsoever to the location of Sclavinia, and that location can be determined definitely only with the aid of other information.

The information needed exists. Indeed some of it has been available since 1749, more was made public in 1884. The references are to the Turin version of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* pub-

[12] See Charanis' review of Amantos «Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ κράτους» in *Byzantion*, XV (Boston, 1941), 471 f.

[13] See, for instance, Bratianu, *op. cit.*, 196.

lished in 1749 by Joseph Pasinus and his collaborators, and to the version of the same chronicle which Lampros discovered in a manuscript belonging to the Athonian monastery called Iberikon and published in 1884, together with the Turin version and still another version which he found in the monastery of Koutloumousion, also of Mount Athos.[14] The Turin and the Koutloumousion versions are almost alike, but the Iberikon differs from them considerably. It contains no notices beyond the reign of Nicephorus I, and where the other two versions cover the same period as the Iberikon, the latter offers more information.

This information has been generally discarded[15] and with few exceptions it has not been used by those who have treated the reign of Nicephorus.[16] This was because the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* was thought to have been written in the sixteenth century, hence centuries after the events which it describes, and if some of its notices could be confirmed by contemporary reference, there were others, those precisely that related to the reign of Nicephorus,

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[14] Joseph Pasinus *et al., Codices manuscripti bibliothecae regii Taurinensis Athenaei,* I (Turin, 1749), 417 f.; S. P. Lampros, «Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα» (Athens, 1884), 97-128. The edition of Lampros was reprinted in 1909 by N. A. Bees with some corrections: «Τὸ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως Μονεμβασίας χρονικόν», in «Βυζαντίς», I (Athens, 1909), 37-105. Both Lampros and Bees devoted a lengthy study to the chronicle, and although they conclude that it is of some value, they discard as mythical the information concerning which there is question here.

[15] Fallmerayer was the first to call attention to this chronicle and used it to bolster his phantastic theory that the ancient Greek race disappeared completely. Jacob Ph. Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (2nd edition by George M. Thomas, Stuttgart, 1877), 508, note 2. Opponents of the theory of Fallmerayer tried to discount the importance of this chronicle. See, for instance, C. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn der Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit,* in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der wissenschaften und Künste,* LXXXV (Leipzig, 1867), 106 ff., and K. Paparrigopoulo, «Ἱστορικαὶ πραγματεῖαι» (Athens, 1858), 247, note 25. Others have looked at it more impartially. See A. A. Vasiliev, "The Slavs in Greece" (in Russian), *Vizantiiskij Vremennik,* V (St. Petersburg, 1898), 411, 655 ff. Vasiliev's work, although written forty-eight years ago, is still fundamental on the question of the Slavs in Greece. I read it with the aid of Mrs. Nathalie Scheffer.

[16] Hopf (*op. cit.,* 106-08) accepts what the chronicle says about the defeat of the Slavs at Patras, but rejects everything else as mythical. Amantos accepts the statement of the chronicle that the eastern part of the Peloponnesus was never conquered or settled by Slavs, but rejects everything else. C. Amantos, "Τσακώνια-Sclavonia" in Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκην (Athens, 1921), 130-34.

which could find no such confirmation. Before 1912 this consideration was valid and justified the exercise of caution in the use of this chronicle, but after 1912, it lost all its validity. This was because in that year S. Kougeas published a short notice, unfortunately buried among the miscellaneous notes of the *Neos Hellenomnemon,* in which he showed that the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* was actually written toward the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, and that its author drew his information from a first rate historical source, now lost, which was written before 932. He reached this conclusion on the basis of a scholium of Arethas of Caesarea, an outstanding Byzantine scholar of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, a pupil of the great Photios, written in 932, which confirms, as far as it goes, almost word for word what the chronicle has to say.[17] Since the publication of Arethas' scholium there remains virtually nothing in the chronicle that cannot be confirmed by other sources. Therefore, it can now be affirmed in unmistakable and unambigious terms that the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* is absolutely trustworthy and constitutes one of the most precious sources of the history of the Byzantine Empire.

The major part of this chronicle, the Iberikon version, deals with the Avar and Slav penetration of Greece and the Peloponnesus. After they overran central Greece, they entered the Peloponnesus, conquered the major part of it and settled in it. Those among the Peloponnesians who managed to escape dispersed themselves here and there. The inhabitants of Patras fled to Italy and settled in Calabria in the territory of Rhegium; the Corinthians found refuge in Aegina, and the Argives fled to the island of Orobe. The Spartans too abandoned their homes. Some sought safety in the mountains of Cynuria, others fled to the coast where they founded the city of Monemvasia, and still others fled to Sicily where they settled in a place which the chronicle calls Demena.[18] Only the eastern part of the Peloponnesus, from Corinth to Malea

[17] S. Kougeas, «'Επὶ τοῦ καλουμένου χρονικοῦ 'Περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας'», in Νέος 'Ελληνομνήμων, IX (Athens, 1912), 473-480.

[18] This information is of great importance concerning the hellenization of Sicily and southern Italy during the Middle Ages. None of those who have dealt with this question have utilized it; not even the possibility that the element responsible for the hellenization of Sicily and southern Italy might have come from the Balkan peninsula, especially Greece, occurred to them. See, for instance, Lynn White, "The Byzantinization of Sicily," in the *American Historical Review,* XLII (1936), 1-21. I have treated this question in another study which will appear in the *American Historical Review.*

remained in the hands of the Byzantines and there a governor continued to be sent. The Slavs were masters of the rest of the peninsula, recognizing neither the authority of the emperor nor that of anyone else. They remained masters for two hundred and eighteen years, i.e. from 587 to 805, from the sixth year of the reign of Maurice to the fourth year of the reign of Nicephorus, when they were defeated and subdued. Now to quote the chronicle itself:[19]

"And only the eastern part of the Peloponnesus, because of its ruggedness and inaccessibility remained free from the Slavs and to that part a strategus of the Peloponnesus continued to be sent by the emperor of the Romans. One of these governors, a native of Lesser Armenia, and a member of the family called Skleroi, came to hostile blows with the Slavic tribes, conquered and obliterated them completely and enabled the ancient inhabitants to recover their own. When the aforementioned Emperor Nicephorus heard

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[19] *The Chronicle of Monemvasia,* Bees' edition, 68 ff (the Iberikon version): Μόνου δὲ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ μέχρι Μαλέου τοῦ Σθλαβηνοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ δύσβατον καθαρεύοντος, στρατηγὸς Πελοποννήσου ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μέρει ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ρωμαίων βασιλέως κατεπέμπετο. Εἷς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων στρατηγῶν ὁρμώμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς μικρᾶς 'Αρμενίας, φατρίας δὲ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων Σκληρῶν συμβαλὼν τῷ Σθλαβηνῷ ἔθνει πολεμικῶς εἶλέ τε καὶ ἠφάνισε εἰς τέλος καὶ τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν οἰκήτορσι ἀποκαταστῆναι τὰ οἰκεῖα παρέσχεν. Τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς Νικηφόρος καὶ χαρᾶς πλησθεὶς διὰ φροντίδος ἔθετο τὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε πόλεις ἀνακαινίσαι καὶ ἃς οἱ βάρβαροι κατηδάφισαν ἐκκλησίας ἀνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βαρβάρους Χριστιανοὺς ποιῆσαι. Διὸ καὶ ἀναμαθὼν τὴν μετοικεσίαν οὗ διατρίβουσιν οἱ Πατρεῖς κελεύσει αὐτοῦ τούτους τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδάφει ἀπεκατέστησε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῶν ποιμένος, ὃς ἦν τὸ τηνικαῦτα 'Αθανάσιος τοὔνομα. . . . 'Ανῳκοδόμησέ τε ἐκ βάθρων καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, πατριαρχοῦντος ἔτι Ταρασίου. . . . Τὴν δὲ Λακεδαίμονα πόλιν ἐκ βάθρων καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνεγείρας καὶ ἐνοικίσας ἐν αὐτῇ λαὸν σύμμικτον Καφήρους τε καὶ Θρακησίους καὶ 'Αρμενίους καὶ λοιποὺς ἀπὸ διαφόρων τόπων τε καὶ πόλεων ἐπισυναχθέντας ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ αὖθις ταύτην κατέστησε καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ τῶν Πατρῶν μητροπόλει ἐθέσπισεν. The text of Arethas (Kougeas, *op. cit.,* 474-475) is almost identical with the above, although the passage on Lacedaemon is lacking: Τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ [Νικηφόρου] ἡ Πατρῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν μετοικία ἀπὸ τῆς Καλαυρῶν πόλεως τοῦ 'Ρηγίου ἀνεκομίσθη εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον πόλισμα τῶν Πατρῶν. . . . 'Εκ τούτων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μικρᾶς ὁρμώμενος 'Αρμενίας, φατρίας δὲ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων Σκληρῶν, συμβαλὼν τῷ Σκλαυηνῶν ἔθνει, πολεμικῶς εἶλέν τε καὶ ἠφάνισεν εἰς τέλος καὶ τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν οἰκήτορσιν ἀποκαταστῆναι τὰ οἰκεῖα παρέσχεν. Βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὁ εἰρημένος ἀναμαθὼν τὴν μετοικίαν οὗ διατρίβειν κελεύσει αὐτοῦ τόν τε λαὸν τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδάφει ἀποκατέστησεν καὶ μητροπόλεως δίκαια ταῖς Πάτραις παρέσχετο, ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς πρὸ τούτου χρηματιζούσης.

these things he was filled with joy and became anxious to renew the cities there, rebuild the churches that the barbarians had destroyed and to christianize the barbarians themselves. And for this reason, having inquired about the colony where the people of Patras lived, he had them reestablished by his order, together with their own shepherd (bishop) whose name at that time was Athanasius, on their ancient soil. . . . And he rebuilt their city and the holy churches of God from the foundations when Tarasius was still patriarch. . . . And he also built from the foundations the city of Lacedaemon, settled it with a mixed people, Kapheroi, Thracesians, Armenians and others whom he brought together fom various places and cities, made it a bishopric and put it under the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Patras."

If this passage is now compared to that of Theophanes it will be seen that the two have certain elements in common. According to Theophanes Christians drawn from every province of the Empire were settled in a region which he calls Sclavinia. Obviously this is an abbreviation of a longer and more detailed account where the provinces whence these Christians were drawn and the places where they were settled were probably given. Theophanes is known often to have abbreviated his sources to such an extent as to make them unintelligible.[20] But when this passage is taken together with that of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* everything becomes clear. The Christians who were settled in the Sclavinia of Theophanes were drawn from Calabria, the Thracesian, Armeniac and other themes of the Empire and the Sclavinia where they were settled was no other than the Peloponnesus.[21] Obviously both the author of the *Chronicle* and Theophanes drew their information from the same source.[22] This is further shown by the fact that according to the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* one of the objects of Nicephorus in the transfer of the people from other parts of the Empire to the Peloponnesus was the christianization of the bar-

[20] See, for instance, H. Grégoire, "Un nouveau fragment du 'Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio'," in *Byzantion*, XI (Brussels, 1936), 417.

[21] Hopf (*op. cit.*, 98-99), Paparregopoulo (Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, 3b, 167) and Vasiliev (*op. cit.*, 422) interpreted τὰς Σκλαβινίας of Theophanes to include the Peloponessus. Most probably it is only the Peloponnesus that is meant.

[22] Possibly a chronicle, a kind of Malalas, to which also belonged the fragment known as the *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Bardae F.* See Grégoire, *op. cit.*, 417 ff.

barians. Now Theophanes does not say this; doubtless he did not want to attribute such a high motive to Nicephorus whose every measure he branded as impious; but he gives an inkling of the real reason of Nicephorus for ordering the transfer by his use of the term Christians, and he means, of course, Orthodox Christians. Nicephorus settled the Slavonic parts of the Peloponnesus with Christians for the simple reason that that was the most effective way of assimilating the Slavs.

Between the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and Arethas on the one hand and Theophanes on the other there is a difference in chronology. According to Arethas, Patras was refounded and resettled with the descendants of the ancient people of Patras, who had fled to Calabria toward the end of the sixth century, during the fourth year of the reign of Nicephorus, i.e., in 805. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* confirms this date by saying that Patras was refounded while Tarasius was still patriarch. Tarasius died in February, 806. But according to Theophanes the transfer of peoples which Nicephorus ordered took place in 809-810. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* does not give the date of the resettlement of Lacedaemon, but this resettlement was doubtless carried out after that of Patras and this may give the clue to the solution of the problem.

Before the publication of the scholium of Arethas, and since the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* lacked confirmation and for that reason was generally rejected, the principal source available concerning the subjugation of the Slavs in the neighborhood of Patras was the account given by Constantine Porphyrogennitus in his *De administrando imperio*.[23] According to this account Patras and its suburbs were inhabited by Greeks, when the Slavs of the environment, aided by Saracens and Africans, laid siege to it in an effort to take it. The citizens of Patras sent a messenger to the Byzantine governor of the Peloponnesus, located then at Corinth, for help, but this help was slow in coming. However, by a happy accident, the besieged made a determined sortie and succeeded in dispersing the barbarians. This victory was attributed to the miraculous intervention

[23] Constantine Porphyrogennitus, *De administrando imperio* (Bonn, 1840), 217 ff. The patriarch Nicholas in a letter to Alexius I Comnenus also refers to the miracle of St. Andrew, and says that it took place two hundred and eighteen years after the occupation of the Peloponnesus by the Slavs, i.e., in 805. J. Leunclavius, *Juris Graeco-Romani, tam canonici quam civilis, tomi duo, . . . ex variis Europae Asiaeque bibliothecis eruti* (Frankfort, 1596), 278 f.

of St. Andrew, whose church at Patras, for this reason, was raised to the status of a metropolis while the defeated Slavs together with their families and property were assigned to it as serfs. Porphyrogennitus gives no exact date for this event. He simply says that it took place during the reign of Nicephorus.

Were it not for the fact that, according to Arethas and the *Chronicle of Monemvasia,* Patras was refounded and repeopled by Greeks only after the defeat of the Slavs by Skleros, the account of Constantine could be considered as another version of the same event, taken perhaps from a life of St. Andrew. But Constantine says that Patras was already inhabited by Greeks, and consequently he either describes another event or is guilty of a confusion, a charge which is not without foundation when applied to the writings of Constantine Porphyrogennitus. The date here is of some importance. On the basis of the fact that a Moslem fleet was present in Greek waters in 807, and as Constantine says that the Saracens helped the Slavs in their attack upon Patras, Hopf has supposed that the attack took place in 807 or thereabouts.[24] If his hypothesis is correct then the event described by Constantine took place after the refoundation of Patras in 805, when the Slavs made an effort to recover the position which they had lost as a result of their defeat by Skleros. This attack of the Slavs must have convinced Nicephorus that their complete subjugation was impossible unless they were christianized and assimilated and he thought of no better method for doing this than the traditional Byzantine practice of settling in their midst Byzantine subjects drawn from other parts of the Empire, hence the general order which is mentioned by Theophanes. Besides Patras and Lacedaemon, Nicephorus must have also recovered and resettled with hellenized elements the towns of Corone and Methone, for according to the chronicle these two towns were put under the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Patras. The measures taken by Nicephorus had the effect of bringing within the Christian fold many of the Slavonic tribes in the Peloponnesus which up to then had remained pagan.

The credit, therefore, for the recovery of the Peloponnesus from the Slavs belongs to Nicephorus I. For his settlement of the Peloponnesus with elements brought from other parts of the Empire not only enabled the Greeks who had remained there to reassert themselves, but proved a most effective way of absorbing and hel-

[24] Hopf, *op. cit.,* 99.

lenizing the Slavs. The new settlers must have been Greek speaking. Some of them were pure Greeks, as the Calabrians who were settled in Patras; others not so pure, but doubtless hellenized. For the Thracesian theme whence some of them came was deeply hellenized, indeed almost Greek, and the Armenians (if indeed they were Armenians, for it is possible that Armeniacs are meant, in which case they might have been Greeks, for the Armeniac theme, in which were located the cities of Sinope and Amaseia, contained many Greeks) must have belonged to that group of Armenians which had been hellenized. Who the "Kapheroi" were is not known, but it is not impossible that this name was the result of a confusion and may refer to some hellenized people of Asia Minor. In any case their identification with the Kabeiroi is inadmissible.[25] Indeed it is not improbable that the Kibyraeotae are meant, for the author of the chronicle may have had before him an abbreviated form of that term (κιβυρρ, or κοιβαιρ.)[26] which he failed to understand. As the whole transfer was carried out in six months, it is not unreasonable to suppose that all the people involved came from the maritime provinces of the Empire. If Thracesians were included in the transfer, it is quite probable that Kibyraeotae were also included.[27] In any event it seems certain that the names of

[25] Lampros (*op. cit.*, p. 113, note 1) was not able to identify the Κάφηροι and raised the question whether they are not the same as the Κάβειροι. The same suggestion is made by Vasiliev (*op. cit.*, p. 657, note 2). But who were the Κάβειροι? Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn, 55) mentions the Κάβειροι as among the troops of Thomas the Slavonian at the time of his revolt against Michael II, but Genesius (Bonn, 33) has Σάβειροι (Σάβειροι is the reading of the manuscript, but for some unexplained reason the editor changed it to Κάβειροι) and as Genesius generally represents the better tradition one should read Σάβειροι in Theophanes Continuatus. Nicephorus Bryennius (Bonn, 29) mentions the Κάβειροι as among the troops of Mahmud of Ghazna (eleventh century), but these Κάβειροι are people of the Oxus and by no means Christians. William of Tyr calls the Oxus Cobar (*Hist. rerum Transmarin.*, Migne, PL, CCI: 221), a name which may give a clue to the identification of the Κάβειροι, i.e., people of the region of Cobar, the inhabitants of Khwarizm. It is also possible, as suggested by both Lampros and Vasiliev, that they were remnants of the Κάβαροι who are mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennitus (*De administrando imperio*, 171 ff). In any case these Κάβειροι have nothing to do with the Κάφηροι of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia.*

[26] For Κιβυρρ as an abbreviated form of Κιβυραιωτῶν see V. Beneševic, "Die byzantinischen Ranglisten," in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, V (Athens, 1926/27), 120, no. 32.

[27] Or, perhaps the Κάφηροι of the *Chronicle* are identical with the Καλαβροί, or Calabrians, of the Scholium of Arethas.

the peoples involved were derived from those of the themes in which they dwelled. That is the meaning of the adjective "mixed" which the author of the chronicle used to describe the peoples who were settled in Lacedaemon. This is clear from Theophanes who makes these peoples come from every theme of the Empire.

Nicephorus I gave to the Slavs of the Peloponnesus a mortal blow. Slavonic tribes continued to exist in the Peloponnesus after his reign; some of them were still there in the fourteenth century, but their backbone had been broken at the beginning of the ninth century when they were defeated at Patras and that city as well as other points in the Peloponnesus were again settled with Greek and hellenized elements. The Slavs, indeed, continued to resist, but their long domination of the western Peloponnesus was over; eventually they succumbed and became completely absorbed by the Greek race. They left behind them some Slavonic place names, but their long domination failed to affect materially the Greek language. Nicephorus I saved Greece from becoming slavonicized.

POST SCRIPTUM

Since the above article was sent to the press the author learned of the appearance in Europe during and soon after the war of three works which deal with the question of the Slavonic settlements in Greece during the Middle Ages. They are in the order of their appearance: (1) Max Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland,* published in 1941, in the Proceedings of the Prussian Academy; (2) C. Amantos, «Οἱ Σλάβοι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα», *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher,* 17 (1944), 210-221; and (3) Dion. Zakythinos, «Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι» (Athens, 1945).

The most significant of these three studies is that by Vasmer, a book of 350 pages, devoted principally to the examination of various toponyms in Greece in an effort to determine the distribution and extent of the Slavonic settlements. Unfortunately it has proved impossibe to get access to this book, and what is said here about it is derived wholly from the works of Amantos and Zakythinos. Indeed the work of Amantos is actually a review of Vasmer's book, where the reviewer makes some contributions of his own. These contributions are almost wholly philological in character and do not affect the study printed immediately above. It may be noted, however, that Amantos still holds to the theory that when Evagrius and Menander speak of the devastations of Greece by the Avars

and Slavs toward the end of the sixth century, by Greece they mean not Greece proper but the possessions of the empire in the Balkan peninsula. Accordingly, as against Vasmer, he denies that Slavs settled in Greece toward the end of the sixth century.

Longer and more fundamental is the work of Zakythinos. Since the appearance of his *Le despotat grec de Morée* Zakythinos has shown himself one of the ablest and outstanding Greek scholars. His knowledge of the history of the Peloponnesus is especially profound. His present book is the most significant study on the Slavs in Greece which has appeared in Greece since Paparrhegopoulo. It numbers one hundred pages and consists of five chapters. In the first chapter the author treats the early history of the Slavs and associates their first incursions into the Balkan regions south of the Danube with the reign of Justinian. The Slavonic settlements in the Balkan peninsula is the subject of the second chapter. Here are discussed the important passages of Evagrius and John of Ephesus. Zakythinos follows Hopf and Amantos in iterpreting Hellas as used by Evagrius to refer to the regions of the northern Balkans, the country between Singidunum and Anchialus[28] and as for John of Ephesus he confines his remark to this, that athough John speaks of Slavonic settlements, he died in 585 and therefore his story is incomplete but a comparison of it with the relevant passages of Michael the Syrian leads to the inference that these Slavonic settlements were subsequently destroyed. The Slavs of the Peloponnesus is the subject of the third chapter, while the fourth is devoted to a discussion of the philological and other remains of the Slavonic settlements in Greece. In the fifth and last chapter the author discusses the question of the absorption of the Slavs.

Throughout his study Zakythinos reveals a remarkable knowledge of the sources and the works of modern scholars on the subject. There is nothing in his book which leaves him open to the charge that he was ignorant of certain sources or that he wilfully refrained from citing them. He is open to criticism, however, in the manner in which he uses these sources. This is particularly true of his treatment of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas.

Zakythinos is, of course, well acquainted with the *Chronicle of*

[28] p. 19. Ὁ ὅρος Ἑλλὰς ἔχει ἐνταῦθα (in Evagrius) στενοτέραν σημασίαν καὶ δηλοῖ τὴν βόρειον Βαλκανικήν, τὴν μεταξὺ Σιγγηδόνος καὶ Ἀγχιάλου χώραν.

Monemvasia and the various studies which have been devoted to it. He also knows the scholium of Arethas. To both the chronicle and the scholium of Arethas he devotes considerable discussion and comes to the conclusion that they were drawn from the same source. But what was the nature of this source? Zakythinos writes in answer to this question: "The original core [of these sources] must be sought, far from the written tradition, in the oral richness of the Peloponnesian people." And consequently "the information according to which the Peloponnesus was subjected definitely by the Slavs in the year 588, lacks any significance."[29] Accordingly he rejects the idea that Slavs settled in the Peloponnesus in the sixth century, and places the Slavonic settlements there after 746.

With these conclusions it is impossible to agree. In the first place it does not necessarily follow that information drawn from the oral tradition lacks significance. Oral traditions are not figments of the imagination; they are usually based on facts. But it is extremely improbable that the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas are derived from the oral tradition. The chronological data which the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* gives agree with what is known from other sources; its phraseology is virtually the same as these sources; there is absolute harmony between the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas; their wording is almost identical. Such similarities would have been impossible unless the common source was in writing. The oral tradition is usually distorted as it passes from one generation to another and no two persons who draw from it report it in the same wording. If the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas are derived from the same source, and there is little doubt that they are, that source must have been a written one. It was probably a chronicle, written sometime between 805, the year during which Patras was rebuilt and raised to the status of a metropolis, and 932, the year during which Arethas wrote his scholium, whose author had drawn his information from Menander, Evagrius, Theophylact

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[29] P. 41: Ὁ ἀρχικὸς οὗτος πυρὴν πρέπει νὰ ζητηθῇ μακρὰν τῆς γραπτῆς παραδόσεως εἰς τὸν προφορικὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ πελοποννησιακοῦ λαοῦ. P. 43: Ἡ φιλολογικὴ κριτικὴ τῶν εἰς τὰς σλαβικὰς ἐγκαταστάσεις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀναφερομένων κειμένων ἀπέδειξε, νομίζομεν, ὅτι τὰ κείμενα ταῦτα πρέπει κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον νὰ ἀναχθοῦν εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πηγήν, ἡ ὁποία ἀπηχεῖ ἐπιτοπίους παραδόσεις, πλαισιωθείσας βραδύτερον χρονολογικῶς ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἀορίστων καὶ ἀσαφῶν μαρτυριῶν, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Εὐαγρίου.

Ὑπὸ τοιαύτας συνθήκας, ἡ πληροφορία, καθ' ἣν ἡ Πελοπόννησος ὑπετάγη ὁριστικῶς εἰς τοὺς Σλάβους κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 588, στερεῖται σημασίας.

Simocatta and some other source which is now lost. This would explain the reason why some of the notices of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* are easily traceable to Evagrius, Menander and Theophylact Simocatta. It seems improbable that whoever wrote the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* referred to these various works separately, drawing this notice from one, and that from another. Most probably he had before his eyes one work and from that one work he compiled his own notices.[30]

But while it is permissible for a scholar to have his own interpretation of certain data, he should at least be consistent in the use of these data. It is in this matter that Zakythinos is wide open to criticism. One of the most important notices given both by the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas is that, following the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Slavs during the reign of Maurice, many of the Peloponnesians fled and settled in Sicily and southern Italy. Now if the statement concerning the invasion of the Peloponnesus lacks significance, i.e., is inaccurate, then the statement that the Peloponnesians migrated to Sicily and southern Italy must also be inaccurate. But while rejecting the first statement, Zakythinos accepts the second as most probably accurate.[31] Another important statement of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* is that concerning the refoundation of Patras and Lacedaemon by Nicephorus I. That statement too is accepted by Zakythinos as accurate.[32] And again in his discussion of the toponyms

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[30] I have myself studied the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* in the light of the scholium of Arethas and the petition drawn in 1429 by Isidore of Kiev on behalf of the metropolitan of Monemvasia. My results will be published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* volume 5.

[31] p. 42. Αἱ παραδόσεις (concerning the migration of some of the Peloponnesians to Sicily and southern Italy) συνδέονται πιθανώτατα πρὸς ἱστορικὰ γεγονότα, σύγχρονα ἢ καὶ νεώτερα τῶν σλαβικῶν ἐγκαταστάσεων ...

[32] p. 51. Ὅτι ὅμως ἐπὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Α′ καὶ πιθανώτατα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Σκληροῦ κατεβλήθη προσπάθεια ἀναδημιουργίας καὶ ἐνισχύσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πληθυσμῶν, εἶναι ἀναμφισβήτητον. Πράγματι ἡ ἰβηρικὴ παραλλαγὴ (i.e. the Iberikon version of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*) διετήρησε τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἄλλων, σημαντικωτέρων, γεγονότων. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἀνώνυμος συγγραφεύς, ἐμερίμνησε περὶ τῆς ἀνοικοδομήσεως τῶν πόλεων, ἐπανέφερε τοὺς ἐκπατρισθέντας Πελοποννησίους εἰς τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν κατοικίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐγκατέστησε «λαὸν σύμμικτον, Καφήρους τε καὶ Θρακησίους καὶ Ἀρμενίους (νόει: καταγομένους ἐκ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν) καὶ λοιποὺς ἀπὸ διαφόρων τόπων τε καὶ πόλεων ἐπισυναχθέντας». Ἐὰν δὲ λάβωμεν ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅσα ὁ Θεοφάνης λέγει περὶ τῆς μεταφορᾶς χριστιανικῶν πληθυσμῶν εἰς τὰς Σκλαβηνίας, θὰ πεισθῶμεν ὅτι ὁ ἐποικισμὸς

in the Peloponnesus adduced by Vasmer as Slavic he notices that they are least numerous on the eastern coast of that peninsula and then remarks: "This observation is accurate and agrees with the definite testimony of the sources." And what are the sources to which he refers? The scholium of Arethas and the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*.[33] Thus Zakythinos accepts every statement of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* except one, that the Slavs settled in the Peloponnesus in the sixth century, during the reign of Maurice. But if the statements of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas that some of the Peloponnesians emigrated as the Slavs came in and that only the eastern part of the Peloponnesus remained free of the Slavs are historically accurate, then the statement that the Slavs came must be accurate also.

There is one more observation. The account concerning the dispersion of the Peloponnesians is found also in an important document of the fifteenth century. This is a petition addressed to the patriarch of Constantinople by a metropolitan of Monemvasia. The petition was occasioned by a dispute between the metropolitan of Monemvasia and the metropolitan of Corinth concerning the jurisdiction over certain episcopal sees in the Peloponnesus, namely, Maine and Zemena. The question had been raised concerning the circumstance under which these bishoprics had come under the jurisdiction of Monemvasia and whether these circumstances still justified their retention by Monemvasia or whether they should not be returned to Corinth where they originally belonged. The writer of this petition was particularly anxious to prove that the capture of Corinth, first by the Avars (the writer wrongly attributes the capture to the Unigurs) during the reign of Maurice (the writer wrongly places this capture in the reign of Justinian) and then by the Latins in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, had no relation to the elevation of Monemvasia to the status of a metropolis. In connection with the capture of Corinth by the Avars the writer

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τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπετέλεσε μέρος τῆς εὐρυτάτης πολιτικῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφήρμοσεν ὁ Νικηφόρος ὁ Α′ καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν καθιέρωσε, κατὰ τοὺς νεωτάτους χρόνους, ἀποβλέπουσα βεβαίως εἰς ἄλλους σκοπούς, ἡ συνθήκη τῆς Λωζάνης.

[33] p. 82, note 1. Ἡ παρατήρησις αὕτη εἶναι ὀρθὴ καὶ συμφωνεῖ πρὸς τὰς ρητὰς μαρτυρίας τῶν πηγῶν, τοῦ σχολίου δηλαδὴ τῆς Καισαρείας Ἀρέθα: «... τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ Κορίνθου μέχρι Μαλέας τοῦ Σκλαυηνοῦ καθαρεύοντος ...» καὶ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τῆς Μονεμβασίας: «μόνου δὲ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ μέχρι Μαλέου τοῦ Σθλαβηνοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ δύσβατον καθαρεύοντος ...».

gives an account of the dispersion of the Peloponnesians which is virtually the same as that given by the *Chronicle of Monemvasia.*

Zakythinos not only knows this document but is conscious of its great value, for he calls it precious. However, in his analysis of the document he confuses the capture of Corinth by the Latins with the capture of the same city by the Avars in the sixth century. For the capture of Corinth to which he refers[34] as a result of which the Corinthians were dispersed and some of them were settled by the metropolitan of Monemvasia elsewhere in the Peloponnesus is the capture of Corinth affected by the Latins and not that which took place in the sixth century as a result of the Avar attack. It should also be pointed out that the author of the document is no longer unknown. The author was no other than Isidore of Kiev and the metropolitan of Monemvasia in whose name the document was drawn was probably Cyril. The document seems to have been written in 1429.[35]

It was thought necessary to dwell at length on these aspects of Zakythinos' book because they affect the study printed immediately above. That study is fundamentally based upon the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* and the scholium of Arethas, and if neither the one nor the other is significant, as Zakythinos would have it, then it has no basis at all. But there is little doubt that both the *Chronicle*

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[34] On page 39 Zakythinos writes: Χρησιμοποιῶν παλαιότερα στοιχεῖα καὶ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν κώδικα τῆς μητροπόλεως, ὁ ἄδηλος συγγραφεὺς λέγει ὅτι τῆς μητροπόλεως Κορίνθου «πολιορκίᾳ περιπεσούσης καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων αὐτῆς πανταχόσε διασπαρέντων», ὁ τότε ἐπίσκοπος Μονεμβασίας ὑπεδέχθη τοὺς πρόσφυγας «καὶ κατῴκισεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν περιοίκων μετακαλεσάμενος, ἐγκατέσπειρε ταύτῃ, καὶ οὕτως αὖθις τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατῳκίσατο». But this passage of the document refers to the capture of Corinth by the Latins and has nothing to do with the Slavic invasion of the sixth century.

[35] G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il Cardinale Ruteno et codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.* (*Studi e Testi*, 46, Rome, 1926), 8. As for the metropolitan of Monemvasia for whom this document was written see V. Laurent, "La liste épiscopale du synodicon de Monembasie," *Échos d'Orient*, 33 (Paris, 1933), 151 f.

of Monemvasia and the scholium of Arethas are very significant and their accuracy certain, as Zakythinos himself shows, by accepting their testimony in every instance but one. And in refusing to accept this one too he is wrong. The criticisms directed against Zakythinos' book, however, must not be construed to affect its central thesis. That thesis is the continuity of the Greek people throughout the Middle Ages. Zakythinos amply demonstrates this continuity and his book as a whole makes a significant contribution to the history of the Greek people during the Middle Ages.

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THE ARRANGEMENT OF WALL-PAINTINGS IN THE MONASTERY CHURCHES OF MOUNT ATHOS

The two great centres of interest in every monastery on Mount Athos are the library and the central church, the *Katholikon,* and in addition to the regularly conducted visit the traveller who has any real interest in Athos or even any due regard for the feelings of his hosts, will certainly spend not a few hours standing in his stall in the church: perhaps most often at vespers, sung in the afternoon, but also, if he has the energy, in the dark hours before the dawn when the long Mass is celebrated. In these great churches there is in fact much to be seen, and nowhere else can the visitor feel himself so much steeped in the atmosphere of the place. It seems therefore suitable to send as my contribution to *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* these few pages on the general features of the monastery churches of Athos, and especially on the wall-paintings with which the interior walls are sometimes entirely covered. Small chapels are often decorated in this same way, but the main interest of these paintings is most obvious when in a developed scheme of arrangement they are used to cover the entire walls of a large building: the great examples of this are the Katholika at the Lavra, at Dionysiou, at Koutloumousi, at Docheiariou, and at Xenophontos the old Katholikon. These paintings are all of them of the sixteenth century. Earlier work is to be seen at the Protaton church at Karyes, but the plain oblong shape of this building departs so much from the Athos norm that its paintings can hardly be brought under the general scheme observed elsewhere. There are earlier paintinsg. At Vatopedi some are of the fourteenth century; the chapel of St. Nicholas at the Lavra was painted in the fourteenth, and that of St. George at St. Paul's in the fifteenth century, but the structure of these small buildings is not adapted to display the full scheme of arrangement, which adds so much interest to the paintings on the walls of the big churches and is so essentially in harmony with the spirit of the services of the Orthodox Church. Of the artistic value of the paintings I say nothing here, except that to me the general effect is impressive and satisfying. Recent writers have dealt at length with this side of the subject, especially since it has occurred to people to connect El Greco with Byzantine art, but no one so far as I know has written in detail on the sche-

matic form of these great decorations, except Brockhaus in his *Die Kunst in den Athos-Kloestern,* and to his pages on the subject I am a good deal indebted.

The place for the church is in the middle of the monastery courtyard, as a rule entirely disengaged from any other building; a device to guard against the ever present danger of fire. The main door is in the centre of the west wall, and this end of the church is often surrounded by a narthex, which may run round the western part of the north and south walls, as we see in St. Mark's at Venice. The outer side of an Athos narthex is either open or more generally glazed, and the inner side of this kind of gallery may be covered with paintings, in the choice of which much variation is allowed. Here, or in some outer part of the church, is the place for pictures of the Seven Councils, by whose decrees the dogmas of the Orthodox Church have been defined. These make a sort of declaration of faith to be seen by everyone entering the building. Here too is the place for a remarkable and specially Athonic picture, that of the Crucified Monk, of which there are examples at Docheiariou, at Esphigmenou and at Philotheou: directions for painting it and for the inscriptions on it are also given at length in *The Painter's Guide.* The centre of the design is a monk fastened to a cross; above him in the sky is Christ with the rewards of endurance; on either side the monk is being assailed either by the Seven Deadly Sins or by figures representing the temptations of the World and of the Flesh. The finest example, though unfortunately badly damaged, is the one at Docheiariou. The picture depicts the ideal life of the monk and how he should rule his life.[1]

With these examples and warnings the monk passes into an ante-church, the *liti* as it is called, which is used for some parts of the services. The word λιτή properly means an ecclesiastical procession, and it may be supposed that the place was used in some way processionally. Between the *liti* and the narthex there is sometimes an inner narthex. In all these compartments again the wall-paintings are arranged in no very narrowly prescribed order. Martyrdoms are in place, and paintings to illustrate such feasts as there is no room for in the main church. Here too are placed any paintinngs which specially illustrate the history of the monastery: for example, at Docheiariou the story of the Boy and the Treasure.

[1] I have described these pictures at some length in *The Monks of Athos,* 43-47.

This is the legend of the boy who found a treasure, and when he with some monks was conveying it to the monastery, he was thrown by them into the sea and afterwards rescued by the angels, living to become the abbot of the monastery.

From the narthex and the *liti* one passes by a central door into the main body of the church, and here at last the arrangement of the paintings follows a fixed logical scheme of great interest.

This scheme of arrangement applies only to the actual wall-paintings; not to the numerous icons suspended above the stalls, mostly in the north and south apses and inside the chancel. The panel icons set in the screen do for the most part follow certain conventions: Christ, the Virgin, and generally Baptist are there, and on the upper part of the screen there should be a row of smaller icons representing the feasts of the Church. The subject of the present paper is however the scheme of painting developed on the actual walls of the building.

The Athos churches are of a very general Byzantine type, in which a central dome surmounts a four-columned square.[2] Sometimes the building is rather low, sometimes, as at Docheiariou, of seemingly exaggerated height. A specially Athonic feature is that there are two side apses, one in the south and one in the north wall, as well as the three chancel apses in the east wall. All round the church, set against the wall, are the stalls for the monks and other worshippers. At this point I must ask the pardon of my Greek readers for inserting a few details for the sake of those who are not familiar with the usages of the Orthodox Church. At the more solemn parts of the service, notably during the procession of the Great Entrance at the Mass, it is correct to step forward out of the stall and stand on the floor of the church. When the priest goes round the church with the incense, one should bow, but it is not necessary to leave the stall. The chancel, slightly raised and for this reason called the "Holy Step" or "Platform," in Greek the Ἅγιον Βῆμα, is separated from the body of the church by a high screen, the *templon*, more often called from the numerous icons set in it, the *iconostasis*. It is as a rule some twenty feet high or more, generally of wood richly carved and gilded. Three openings lead through it into the concealed chancel, one in front of each of the three chancel apses. The central one, the Beautiful Gate, ἡ Ὡραία

[2] Brockhaus gives a plan of a typical church (p. 17), which has been reproduced by Hasluck, *Athos*, 96.

Πύλη, can be closed, below by double gates and above by a curtain. The altar, the Holy Table, ἡ Ἁγία Τράπεζα, generally square in form, stands in the centre of the middle space and is entirely concealed from the congregation, except when the ritual requires the opening of the gates. The screen is surmounted by a great Rood, the figures of course not carved in the round, but painted an panels. In front of the screen are reading desks, ἀναλόγια, one on each side, and some great brass candlesticks, μανουάλια. A row of silver lamps, κανδῆλαι, hangs in front of the screen icons. Above the screen and behind the Rood, one can see in the high central apse a great fresco of the Virgin with the Child in her arms. It only remains to be said that above the exact centre of the church is the great dome, from the circle of which hangs the corona chandelier, a linked circle of brass plates carrying candles and small icons, which at great festivals is sometimes set slowly swinging, filling all the church with shifting lights and shadows. There may be other smaller domes at the corners of the building, but this central dome, raised on a high drum with narrow windows, is an essential part of the design.

As we enter the church, we look up into the dome and see in the centre a great head of Christ inscribed IC XC ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, *Jesus Christ, Pantokrator,* that is *The Almighty.* In one hand He holds a book; the other is raised to bless. The expression of the face is somewhat austere. The nimbus is market with the words Ο ΩΝ, *He Who Exists,* and round the figure is set one or another of several texts. The one at Dionysiou from Psalm LXXX seems typical: *Lord God of Hosts, look down from heaven and behold, visit and tend this vine, which Thy right hand hath planted.* — ΚΕ Ο ΘC τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανῶν καὶ ἰδὲ καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτὴν ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιά σου.[3] And the same text is used at Docheiariou. The church of the Martorana at Palermo has the text beginning: *I am the Light of the World.*

Below the Pantokrator, and so round the drum of the dome, is a circle of figures: to the east the Virgin and facing her on the west St. John the Baptist; the rest of the circle is filled by angels, each of one of the nine orders, joining their adoration to that of the faithful in the church below. In the pendentives are the four Evangelists, and on the rim of the dome two small but remarkable

[3] I take the words from Antoniadis' Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (1907), III, 130.

pictures: on the east side is the Holy Kerchief, τὸ Ἅγιον Μανδήλιον, the Veronica, and opposite on the west side the Holy Tile, τὸ Ἅγιον Κεραμίδιον, each with its picture of the face of Christ. I need not here recount the legend of Abgarus King of Edessa and the kerchief on which Christ had wiped His face, and the tile to which the picture was miraculously transferred, but it may be noted that this pair of pictures is hardly to be found outside Athos.

Still looking eastwards, the spectator sees in the central apse, well above the Rood, the great picture of the Virgin and Child, marked always MP ΘΥ, Mother of God. On one side stands the Archangel Michael; on the other is Gabriel: the angels of judgment and of the Annunciation. The Son stands on His Mother's lap: church poets have often called it His throne. *The Painters' Guide* says that the figure should be inscribed *She who is higher than the Heavens,* ἡ Ὑψηλοτέρα τῶν οὐρανῶν, but at Xenophontos I noticed that the lettering is Lady of the Angels, ἡ Κυρία τῶν Ἀγγέλων. All the upper part of the church thus sets before the eyes of the congregation the heaven towards which all worship must be directed.

The paintings in the three apses illustrate the worship of the Church in the Sacrament of the Altar. A monk, generally the *ekklisiarchis,* takes the visitor inside the chancel, which is to be entered by the northern of the three openings in the screen. In no Orthodox church, I believe, is any woman allowed inside the chancel, nor may the central door be used by anyone at all, being reserved for the exclusive use of the celebrating priest. There is a further prohibition against treading on the space between the altar and the central door, the Beautiful Gate; in going from the north to the south of the chancel one must pass behind the altar, between it and the wall of the apse. But when the church is so small that the altar does not stand free but is arranged like a shelf, the visitor is allowed to cross in front, although always with special reverence. There are often small icons hung at the back of the screen and low down on the walls of the central apse, and objects of special respect are often kept here: for example at Vatopedi the two small icons called the Nimia, the secret icons of the pious Empress Theodora, which she kept concealed from her husband, the iconoclastic Emperor Theophilos.

But in the chancel it is the wall-paintings that are of the greatest interest, being closely connected with the ritual use of each of the three apses. We may begin with the northernmost. The space underneath this apse is called the *Prothesis,* the place of the setting

forth of the elements, because it is here on the *prothesis* table that the preparations are made for the Mass. Here therefore the painter has to bring forward the idea of the descent from heaven and the sacrificial death of Christ, and this is done in two pictures on the wall of the apse above the table. In the upper picture Christ is shown surrounded by cherubim; in the lower He is lying in the tomb. The inscription is a verse taken from the service for Holy Saturday: -"On Thy throne on high and in the tomb beneath aware of Thee, the creatures of the world above and the creatures below the earth were amazed, O my Saviour, at Thy death, for beyond all understanding Thou wert before their eyes as dead and yet most of all the spring of life." «Ἄνω σε ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ κάτω ἐν τάφῳ, τὰ ὑπερκόσμια καὶ ὑποχθόνια κατανοοῦντα, Σωτήρ μου, ἐδονεῖτο τῇ νεκρώσει σου· ὑπὲρ νοῦν ὡράθης γὰρ νεκρὸς ζωαρχικώτατος.» High up in this apse too is the place for a picture of the Sacrifice of Abraham.

In the central apse are paintings to figure the sacrament itself. Below the great painting of the Virgin and Child in the hollow of the apse there is a picture of Christ giving the communion to the disciples, representing the scene not realistically and historically but in its theological aspect. As an actual material happening the Last Supper is depicted in the body of the church among the other events in the life of Christ; here what is presented is the communion itself. The picture runs right round the apse. In the centre is an altar; by it Christ, wearing the robes of a priest, is twice depicted, once to the north and once to the south, on each side giving the elements to a row of six apostles. On the north side He stoops forward to give the Bread, and the inscription is *This is My Body,* Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, the words with which at the consecration the suddenly loud voice of the priest breaks the deep silence; and on the south side the other figure of Christ gives the Wine, again with the inscription *This is My Blood,* Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου. Below the painting there is sometimes another representation of the sacrament of the altar, called the Divine Liturgy, or perhaps here a better translation would be the Liturgy of God, ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία. Here Christ again stands by the altar, dressed as a High Priest, but this time represented once only. On each side stretching round the curve of the apse is a row of angels as though assisting at the divine sacrifice. One holds on his head the paten, one carries the chalice; the other angels carry censers and candlesticks, the cross, the lance with which the priest divides the mass loaf, and yet another the spoon used in administering the elements,

a crumb of the bread sopped in the wine. This strange representation of the Church's services carried out in heaven seems all the more appropriate when we remember that in the Cherubic Hymn, sung very slowly and solemnly when the elements are carried out into the church in procession from the prothesis and through the central door of the screen brought to the altar, the ceremony called the Great Entrance, the sacrament is said to be invisibly guarded by the orders of angels, ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενος τάξεσιν. Sometimes the angels below the Pantokrator in the dome are represented in this way, carrying the objects used in the Mass. Nor is this resemblance to the procession of the Great Entrance in any way accidental or irrelevant: it is rather that this most characteristic ceremony of the Byzantine rite has been chosen to illustrate the Liturgy as celebrated in heaven. Here we may remember that the ophitis cup at Xeropotamou, called the Cup of Pulcheria, bears a similar representation. In the centre of the bowl is the Virgin with uplifted hands standing thus in prayer between Michael and Gabriel, as in the painting at the top of this central apse. All round this group are angels as priests and deacons celebrating the Divine Liturgy and the inscription is a a part of the Cherubic Hymn.

To make a short digression: something like the Greek idea of the liturgy in heaven may be found also in Europe. In the *Dialogus de Miraculis* of Caesar of Heisterbach, a book of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, we find a story of a German nun who in a vision saw Mass celebrated in the heavenly Jerusalem.[4] Christ in the vestments of a bishop approached the altar and led off the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*. Then the epistle was sung by St. Stephen and the gospel by St. John the Evangelist. Then candles were offered to Christ; the nun was reluctant to offer hers, because she wanted to carry it back with her to earth. An angel then broke the candle as she was holding it in her hand, and offered the upper part, and the nun was carried back to earth still holding the stump. Of the rest of the Mass she therefore saw nothing. An English carol of the fifteenth century describes a Mass in " a chapell," with St. Nicholas as celebrant in the presence of the Apostles: Our Lord and the Virgin make offerings; He a chalice and she a crown.[5]

To return to the paintings in the central apse of an Athos church. Below the paintings of the liturgy just described, the curve of the

[4] In J. Strange's edition (1851) of Caesarius Heisterbacensis, II, 26.

[5] This is from *The Early English Carol,* by R. L. Greene, 223.

apse is occupied by standing figures of four great saints of the church, each vested in his priestly robes: the two who gave each of them a liturgy to the church, St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom, and with them St. Athanasios of Alexandria and St. Gregory Nazianzen, called the Theologian. These figures form, as we shall presently see, an integral part of the long series of saints which runs round the whole body of the church.

The southern of the three apses is called the *diakonikon,* the apse of service, and seems to be used for keeping vestments, censers and other apparatus of worship. The symbolism of the paintings is not all through very clear, but the central piece is always a figure of the Virgin, standing in the centre of the apse with hands uplifted in an attitude of prayer. In the west she would be called the *Virgo Orans,* but in Greece she has the title of the Virgin "Wider than the Heavens," ἡ πλατυτέρα τῶν οὐρανῶν, a name which refers to her conception as she carries within her the divine Son. The *Platytera* is always depicted in this way standing, and in front of her body, often in a circular frame, is painted the Child. In this apse too is often a painting of the Burning Bush, which is taken by the Greeks as a type of the Incarnation in the unconsumed and virgin body of Mary.

The reference of these diakonikon paintings to the conception makes the wall outside this apse the fitting place for the beginning of the series of scenes from the life of Christ, which is carried all round the body of the church; it begins at this point with the Nativity. The small dome at this corner is the place for a figure of the winged Christ, generally inscribed as "the Prince of Peace," an allusion to the Messianic prophecy of the Saviour in Isaiah. *The Painters' Guide* says that the words on this picture should be: "I have come out from God; I have not come of myself, but it was He who sent me." "He who sent me" is a reference to the words in the Septuagint version of the prophecy in which the Messianic figure, the Prince of Peace, is called also the Messenger, the Angel, of the Great Council, Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος. The wheel of light which generally surrounds this beautiful and imaginative picture suggests the opening of the very ancient vesper hymn of the Greek church: "Jesus Christ, light of joy from the holy glory, from the eternal father of heaven, holy and blessed." «Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης, ἀθανάτου πατρὸς οὐρανίου, ἁγίου μάκαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ.» An angel or messenger must have wings: here it is Christ, but everywhere the great messenger sent as a Forerunner St. John the Baptist, is figured in Greek churches with wings.

Corresponding to this picture of the Angel of the Great Council we find in the north east dome, at the end of the series, a painting of Christ as Emmanuel, God with us, and this fits His presence in the sacrament regarded as the end of His mission on earth: the picture is therefore rightly placed as near as possible to the *prothesis* apse.

Consonantly with the use of the *diakonikon* apse, the standing figures in the lowest register seem to be prevailingly sainted deacons.

Leaving the chancel we may now look at the paintings in the body of the church. The scenes from the life of Christ go right round the upper part of the walls, illustrating the events in His life which are commemorated in the Feasts of the Lord, the Κυριακαὶ ἑορταί. They are arranged so that the southern apses is occupied by a large picture of the Transfiguration, the west wall by the Crucifixion, and the northern apse by the Resurrection. All the events before the crucifixion find their place on the south wall; those after the crucifixion on the north wall; and finally Pentecost and the Ascension are painted on the roof immediately above the altar.

Over the door in the middle of the west wall is the place for a picture of Christ as a sleeeping boy. He lies on the earth and the inscription is "He who has fallen from above," «ὁ ἀναπεσών», which is the beginning of the wording proper to this picture, Jacob's prophecy to Judah in Genesis, XYIX, 9: ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων, καὶ ὡς σκύμνος, τίς ἐγείρει αὐτόν; "He stooped and fell, he couched as a lion and as a lion's whelp: who shall rouse him?" At Philotheou Mary and two angels prostrate adore His sleep; close by him is the symbolic lion. Then answer and the reason for placing this picture precisely here are in the great painting of the Crucifixion higher up on the same wall, where the Lion of Judah is seen lifted up on the Cross.

Over the two easternmost of the four dome-supporting columns is a painting of the Annunciation: Gabriel standing on the north and the Virgin on the south side, and below the Feasts of the Lord it is common to have a second series running all round the church illustrating the feasts of the Virgin, of the Mother of God, Θεομητορικαὶ ἑορταί. These are arranged so that a great picture of the Dormition of the Virgin, ἡ Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου, comes on the west wall immediately below the picture of the Crucifixion. Mary

lies on her bed, and Christ attended by angels receives her soul as it flies upwards from her mouth in the form of a small child. I do not think that the Orthodox Church has made a dogma of the Assumption or of any bodily resurrection for the Virgin. There is at least at Athos, in the monastery of Iviron, a manuscript of a work by the twelfth century Michael Glykas with the title, "Concerning how the body of the Ever Virgin was moved, πῶς ἡ μετάστασις γέγονε, and whether it is true that she rose from the tomb ar our Lord and Saviour rose from the dead."[6]

The lowest register all round the church, and so immediately above the stalls, is occupied by a long row of standing figures of saints. Here too a certain order is obesrved. I have never noticed the point myself, but Brockhaus says that Saints who were laymen or simple monks are painted on the west wall, and to the north and south the figures are arranged according to their increasing dignity, until at last the chancel is reached, inside which, as we have already seen, is the place for sainted deacons and priests, and in the middle just behind the altar for the four great doctors of the Church. Thus the painted saints occupy places corresponding with some exactness to the places in which the living worshippers stand: the place in the church of least honour is by the door at the west end; monks and dignitaries have places in the north and south apsidal choirs, and inside the chancel is of course the place for the officiating clergy.

The general idea of the scheme is that the pictures which occupy the highest paces in the church, Christ Almighty, the Virgin and the orders of angels, set before us the whole heavenly realm. Intermediaries between this higher world and the world of men below are the four evangelists, who carried down to men the heavenly message: they therefore find their fit place in the four pendentives that intervene between the dome above and the walls below. On these walls the series of paintings of the feasts bring to our minds the events in the earthly life, first of Christ and below Him of Mary. Below them again the row of saints stands for the whole body of the Church Triumphant. Standing below them in the stalls are the actual living worshippers, they too arranged in due order. This is the scheme regarded vertically; horizontally, on the floor level, the body of the church contains the worshipping laity and behind the screen the priests stand round the altar, they

[6] The manuscript in question is No. 4512, 24, in Lambros' *Catalogue of the Athos MSS.*, II, 139.

and the paintings above them devoted all alike to the great act of liturgical worship. And lastly as the centre and highest point of all is the great painting in the dome of Christ the Almighty.

The complete examples of the scheme fully worked out belong, as we have seen, to the sixteenth century, but in some form or other, more or less developed, it must certainly be very much older than this: if for no other reason, because a decorative ensemble of this complexity must have taken many years to reach its full development. The most striking feature, Christ Pantokrator in the dome, is likely to be one of the earliest: at Daphni near Athens there is an example already in the eleventh century, and Antoniadis sees reason to believe that the Pantokrator in the central dome of Ayia Sophia belonged to the earliest period of the church.[7] I think it a much more likely view that in the church as Justinian left it the dome was decorated not with a figure but with a great cross, but the later post-iconoclastic mosaics were, in the opinion of Lethaby and Swainson, arranged very much according to the prescriptions of *The Painters' Guide*.[8] In any case we may be sure that many parts of the scheme are of very much greater antiquity than any paintings now to be seen in the Athos churches.

Much more space might have been given to the exact way in which the scheme has been worked out in the different churches, but none of these variations are as interesting as the general fact of this organised logical arrangement. I believe too that very much more might be worked out by any carefully observant traveller; there must too be some monks who know a good deal more of these matters by tradition. Any such closer study would be helped by a proper attention to the still more elaborate services of the Orthodox Church and to the ritual symbolism of many details of these services. Such a study would lead to a deep realisation of the extraordinary unity of every aspect of Byzantine worship.

Of the wall-paintings in the refectories of Athos—the finest examples are at Dionysiou and the Lavra—I have said nothing. Brockhaus thinks that the paintings have some connection with the use of the room, and suggests that they are likely to be related in some way to the passages read aloud at meals as appropriate to the feasts and seasons of the year. I can go no further than to say that any such schematic connection of season, reading, and fresco

[7] Ἐκφρασις, III, 129.

[8] *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, 280.

would be very much in accordance with the modes of thought in the Athos monasteries.

There is a little book by Constantine Daponte, in religion Kaisarios, which proceeds very much on these lines. Daponte flourished in the eighteenth century, and after a career in the service of the Phanariot rulers in Roumania retired as a monk, and at last settled down in the monastery of Xeropotamou, where he wrote an immense number of books, some not yet published. The book to which I now refer is his *Explanation of the Holy Liturgy*, Ἐξήγησις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας, printed at Vienna in 1795. Writing in his usual and all too fluent rhymed couplets the author explains the symbolism of every part of the Mass: of its words, its ritual, its vestments, and lastly everything concerning the communion itself. The book ends with a few hymns and stories of miracles, the sort of miscellaneous matter which Daponte's genius for irrelevance contrived to drag into all his writings. In the first chapter he tells us why the Church, although more glorious, may be compared to the sky: the sky has the sun and the moon; the Church has for its two lights Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, and the Virgin, the Mother of Light. The sky has the planets; the Church the sacraments, and so on. Next, the Church is a type of God: the Almighty holds together in one unity the whole of creation, embodied and bodiless; the Church unites together all the faithful. In the next section he shows how the structure of every church typifies the spiritual world and the world of these senses: in the chancel are the angels; these are the spiritual world; in the body of the church, the nave, stand the laity, who live in the world of sense. This same distinction between the chancel and the nave, which is so apparent in the arrangement of the wall-paintings, occurs again in the next lines, where the author shows us how in another way it may be said that the whole church is a figure or type of the created world of sense: the chancel is the sky above us, the nave is the earth. And conversely the created world is like a church: the sky is the chancel where the holy ones dwell; the earth may be likened to the nave. The resemblance he says is quite clear; it is a σαφὲς σωστὸν σημεῖον.[9] And so Daponte goes on working out the ingenious fancies and correspondencies elaborated by countless generations of monks, and all much to the edification of his brethren at Xeropotamou. To people who thought in this way, the whole arrangement of the paintings on the walls of their

[9] Ἐξήγησις, 1-11.

churches must have seemed in every detail charged with the deepest significance, and if we wish in a measure to enter into this way of thought, we should not neglect what the churches of Athos, and indeed many other churches in the Orthodox world, have to teach us.

NOTE. Much matter relevant to this is to be found in a paper by J. D. Stefanescu, *L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'orient*, published in the *Annuaire de philologie et d'histoire orientales* (Bruxelles), I (1932-3), 21-77; and III (1933), 403-508.

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AN UNKNOWN MOSAIC ICON OF THE PALAEOLOGAN EPOCH

Chance and kind friends[1] have presented me with a photograph of a hitherto unpublished mosaic icon of the Forty Martyrs which seems to be interesting from more than one point of view. This remarkable product of later Byzantine art not only throws light on the debt of the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance to late antique, secular art but also provides an opportunity for studying a typical process of iconographic development.

The icon[2] was at one time in the Segredakis collection but can not be traced at present. A note in French at the back of the photograph says that the miniature mosaic, which measures 20 by 15 cm. and is surrounded by an old (but not original) wooden frame, was bought in Greece from an Anatolian refugee. The infinitesimal cubes, the largest of which, those in the gold ground, measure less than 1 square mm., are in their original position and, apart from two large gaps and one small one, a displaced fragment, a few disturbed parts in the gold background, and a network of cracquelures

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[1] I should like to express here my obligation to Mrs. Paecht-Michalopoulo and to Dr. O. Paecht for kind permission to use the photograph which Mrs. Paecht acquired in Aegion, Greece.

[2] The icon shows in the lower part a massed group of thirty-nine (originally forty) figures in three ranks. One head, near the upper right corner of the group, is missing. A hand with arm, which appear now, together with a displaced bit of gold ground, at the left edge of the largest gap seems to have belonged, originally, to this destroyed figure, the second from the right, in the upper row. The figures in the first row are given in full, — they are clad in loincloths or trousers, varying in colour from ochre and emerald green to blue and grey. Of the figures in the second row only chests and heads are visible, and the third row consists, with the exception of the destroyed gesticulating figure, almost exclusively of heads with a few indications of necks and shoulders. The flesh tones range from terra di Siena, umber, and pink, to olive, greyish and white tones. The modelling shows both subtle gradations from light to dark, and sudden sparkling highlights and energetic shadows. The ground on which the figures stand is visible at the bottom and near the edges; it consists, apart from two rocks in the lower corners, of a surface streaked in grey, blue and white, representing the frozen surface of the lake on which the Martyrs were frozen to death. Above the group stretches a golden ground, dotted with diadems which, according to the legend, descended on the steadfast confessors. At the very top appears the hand of God in a semicircle.

caused by the shrinking of the wax-bed, the mosaic is excellently preserved.

The icon represents the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. The East Christian legend which underlies this as most other representations of the theme is preserved in three main literary versions, two Greek[3] and one Syrian[4], and tells of the story of the martyrdom roughly as follows:

Forty members of Decius' guard in Caesarea embrace the Christian faith and remain steadfast in the face of promises and threats. After several attempts to inflict pain on them have failed, they are brought to Sebaste (Sivas) in Armenia and exposed by night on a frozen lake. A heated and lighted bath-house is kept open on the shore to induce them to apostasy. One of the forty does in fact give up and approaches the *thermae* but, on entering the refuge, is dissolved into air. The guardian of the *thermae* witnesses this miraculous punishment and, seeing, at the same time, diadems descending from heaven on the steadfast martyrs, he is converted and joins the thirty-nine, to make up the original number. He is the first to die and so to gain the crown. The Syrian version adds to this recital an apparition of Christ.

The salient traits of this legend which played a part in the illustration of the theme are: the forty freezing men on the ice, one of them—the guardian—dying; the bath-house, with the apostate approaching it or disappearing into it; the crowns descending from heaven, and, finally, the apparition of Christ.

Most of these features are present in two ivories of the tenth century, one in the Hermitage of Leningrad[5], and the other, a close copy of only slightly later date, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.[6] The type followed by these two ivories must have had

[3] The Greek version in the "Acts": O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta Martyrum selecta* (Berlin, 1902), 171-181; the other in the so-called "Testament of the Forty Martyrs" (also transmitted in Old Slavonic): *ibidem*, 166-170. A Latin translation by John Diaconus, *Acta Sanctorum, Martii* II (1865), cols. 12-29; for criticism of the Greek Acts, see *Propylaeen*, Nov. 1902, 521 ff.

[4] The Syrian version translated (German) and critically illustrated by W. Weih, "Die Syrische Legende der 40 Maertyrer von Sebaste," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXI (1912), 76-93. See also *Orientalia Christiana*, II (Rome, 1934), 174 ff.

[5] A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), pl. III, no. 9.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, vol. II, pl. III, no. 10. In the Berlin example the figure entering the bath-house is missing; several misunderstandings show that the ivory is a derivative of the Leningrad or a kindred example.

a more or less binding influence even in the following century: several figures of the front row are repeated in a Greek Menologium of the eleventh century in Leningrad[7] and all the figures occur again —in an even more classical version—in the beautiful silverpoint drawing of the same or the preceding century which is contained in *Cod. Barb. lat.* 144.[8] It is very likely that the composition of these four monuments followed a mosaic or a monumental painting in Constantinople where the Forty Martyrs were held in great veneration at least from the sixth century onwards;[9] and the ultimate source of the pictorial tradition may have been a painting in Sebaste itself.[10] The origin of the tradition in the East seems to be indicated by the fact that it includes the apparition of Christ which is peculiar to the Syrian version of the legend.

This apparition of the enthroned Pantocrator, adored by kneeling angels, is an interesting feature also from another point of view. It provides the answer to the question whence the original composition derived its formal pattern; Christ with angels, floating above a crowded mass of figures—this is the scheme of the Ascension (with Christ above the lively group of gesticulating apostles) as it was worked out in the sixth century and remained unchanged to the very end of Byzantine art. This was the scheme which, *mutatis mutandis,* was adopted for the creation of the new iconographic formula; and this process is typically Byzantine. Hardly ever in the course of Byzantine iconography do we meet with an entirely new creation of pattern; time-honoured theme which contained similar features was taken as a point of departure and only gradually did the new scheme free itself from adherence to the "parent-form." An analogous procedure can be seen in the most interesting detail of the martyrs' group — the dying man, supported

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[7] D. K. Treneff, *Miniatures du Ménologe grec du 11e siècle,* No. 183, Pl. VIII, No. 36 (quoted after Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, p. 27).

[8] W. F. Volbach, "Le miniature del Codice Vaticano Pal. Lat. 1071, 'De arte venandi cum avibus'." *Estr. dai Rendiconti della Pontif. Accademia Romana di Archeologia,* vol. XV, figs. 23, 24, p. 28.

[9] See the two odes composed by Romanos; K. Krumbacher, "Miscellen zu Romanos," *Abhandlungen der kgl. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* I. Kl., Vol. 24, 3. Abt. (1907), 80 ff. About churches dedicated to the Forty Martyrs in the Byzantine capital see: N. P. Kondakoff, "Vizantiyskiya cerkvi Konstantinopolya," *Trudy VI Arch. syezdy Tom.* 3, *p.* 45. One was in the precincts of the Monastery of the Chora (Kahrieh Djami).

[10] P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, in *Studi e Testi,* vol. XXII (Rome, 1909), 64-73.

by one of his comrades. The origin of the motif employed in the ivories and the related works is to be found in the illustration of a gospel scene: the group of the youthful figure resting its head on the chest of the bearded, long-haired figure behind is obviously taken from the group of St. John resting on Christ's bosom in the Last Supper. The analogy is complete. Even the types of the two figures have remained unchanged. If corroborative evidence were needed at all, it could be found in the queer position of the youth's left arm which, in the group of the martyrs, can hardly be justified because it lacks the necessary support which was originally provided by the table of the Last Supper. Other gestures of the martyrs in the ivories group are inspired by the customary attitudes of the apostles in the Ascension. The special significance called for by the new theme — freezing, pain, despair, exhaustion — is hardly brought out at all. The figures seem rather more preoccupied with the heavenly apparition than with their own situation; the rhythm of the whole is rather one of rejoicing than of suffering and of martyrdom. This impression of joyous tumult is still enhanced by the smooth and "beautiful" bodies and faces which exhibit no sign of suffering and remind one, in their classical perfection, of Hellenistic heroes, heroes of the prettified kind. The descending diadems are left out in the ivories, possibly for formal reasons, in order not to break up the smooth shining surface of the material. Instead, there is an inscription: ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΤΕCCΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ.

It is a long way, from the neoclassicist ivories in the style of the "Rosette-caskets" to our miniature mosaic. First of all, the latter suppresses one main motif: the enthroned Christ with the angels, a motif which, as a remnant of the Ascension scheme, was eliminated in the course of the iconographic development. Instead of it, there is a segment of heaven, with the hand of God appearing in it, the usual abridged formula designating divine interference. It is difficult to decide whether the time-honoured motive of the apostate moving towards the bath-house was represented in our mosaic. The mosaic is destroyed just in the part where the motif should have appeared, and the fragment of an arm at the left of it is not *in situ* but belonged to the destroyed figure of one of the martyrs in the upper row. But the motif was hardly ever excluded from the representation of the Forty and the gesture of the raised arm, which in the correct placing would have appeared just underneath the missing apostate, rather points to its presence; it is the only hand which is to be seen in or above the upper row and seems

to imply a formal and thematic motivation and continuation in the space above.

Another feature of the mosaic which differs from the composition of the ivories is the martyrs' diadems. As the gold ground is almost everywhere badly damaged,[11] the exact number (thirty-nine or forty, according to the Greek or the Syrian version) and shape of the diadems cannot be clearly ascertained. The most complete example appears just below the divine hand, a little to the left. It is oblong, set with precious stones, and topped in the center by a loop holding a larger stone. A clumsy effort to restore the crowns in painting (visible, e.g. in the upper left corner) produced spiked crowns of a western shape with a perspective design. There seems to have been no inscription.

But the most significant change as compared to the ivory group has occurred in the figures of the martyrs themselves. Not one single group or figure can be traced back to the earlier composition of the ivories. The movements have lost the dancing rhythm, they are more dignified and, at the same time, more realistic. Like the faces, they betray suffering, cold and despair. Some are trying to warm themselves by crossing their arms in front of their bodies, others clutch their faces or their foreheads with their hands. A very specific gesture expressive of suffering is exhibited in the figure of the youth at the left of the front row: he grips the wrist of his right hand with his left. This gesture occurs in scenes of the Passion and, likewise, in figures of the damned in representations of the Last Judgement. The group of the dying martyr supported by one of his comrades has undergone a profound change. Every reminiscence of the St. John-Christ group from the Last Supper has disappeared; instead, the dying man—now, more logically, a feeble old man, supported by a youth,—is bent backwards, not forwards, in a stiffened arch. The scene becomes much more realistic, more vivid. All the same, the motif was not invented by the artist: it is taken from Christ's descent from the cross—the group of Joseph of Arimathea, holding the lifeless body of Christ. Thus it was, at any rate, taken from a more related sphere and it is bolder and more specific in its realism. The same is true of the faces and their expressions. There are, still, a few "beautiful" young faces, especially in the front row. But these faces are saddened or express fear

[11] The even horizontal rows of cubes are more liable to detach themselves from the substratum because they have no tension; the curved, interlinked pattern of the figures offers more resistance.

and despair. And most of the other faces are ragged, distorted by suffering, with fiercely gleaming eyes and wild, shaggy beards. Almost all the expression is concentrated in the faces. It is an amazing gallery of character-portraits,—in its wealth and variety almost unique in Byzantine art. Some of the types can be traced back to representations of prophets, apostles, evangelists, and saints, especially holy monks and stylites; others clearly follow antique prototypes of different kinds. The nearness of some of these types to antique models is astonishing. The fourth from the left, in the top row, for instance, goes back to late antique author-portraits, as preserved in the Vienna Dioscurides,[12] the sixth figure in the same row is an adaptation of Alexander's head in the battle mosaic from Pompei,[13] whereas the preceding and the very similar fourth face in the front row must be derived from a prototype very closely akin to the centaur in the well-known mosaic of the fight against the tiger;[14] the hoary head at the extreme right of the second row was certainly taken from some antique river-god and most of the youthful heads in the first row, with their elegiac attitudes, are as antique in spirit and form as can be. The antique ingredients are, in fact, much stronger and purer in the mosaic than in the earlier ivories: in the latter we meet with a vague Hellenistic tradition of a rather worn out and threadbare elegance; in the mosaic we are confronted with a fresh current, a lively stream flowing straight from the very sources of late antique art. It would be difficult to name the antique prototypes of the figures and faces in the ivories (there are only two or three types altogether); what was present in the mind of their sculptors was only a vague notion of Greek elegance. The result is a general sleekness of appearance. The mosaicist, on the other hand, looked for specific models, which, without exception, must have been paintings or mosaics, most of them pagan and secular. He did not receive his impressions through the medium of early Christian or early Byzantine art, but straight from antique monuments, or, at least, from a tradition of secular art going back directly to an-

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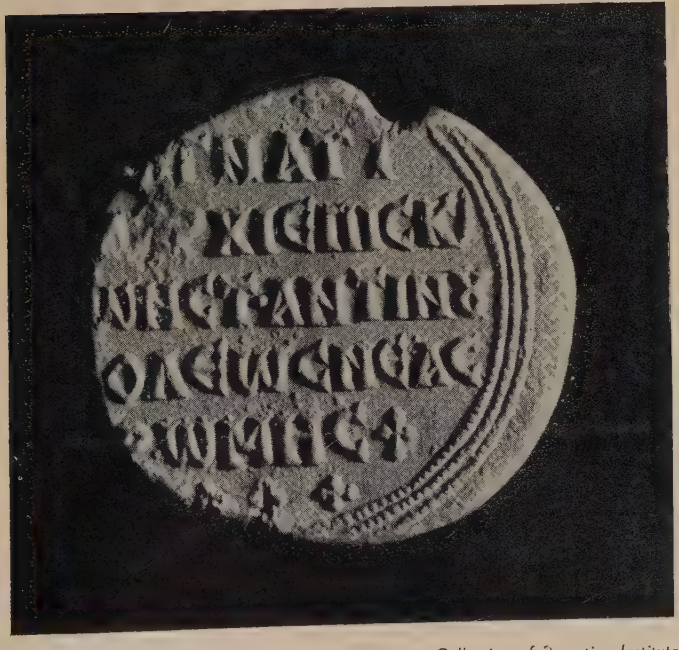
[12] Cf., e.g., the Krateuas of the first Mandragora-picture: P. Buberl, "Die antiken Grundlagen des Wiener Dioskurides Kodex, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts,* Vol. 51, 1/2, fig. 9 on p. 123. The type survived as St. Mark in Byzantine book illumination.

[13] This was pointed out to me by Dr. L. Muenz. See, F. Winter, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompei* (Stassburg, 1909), pl. I.

[14] E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Muenchen, 1923), § 943, fig. 306.

SEAL OF PATRIARCH IGNATIOS

(Enlarged twice actual size)



Collection of Byzantine Institute

(See article pp 261 - 266)

MOSAIC ICON OF THE FORTY MARTYRS

tique sources. The remarkable thing is that these motifs, taken from secular, late antique paintings, do not appear as foreign bodies in a picture which, after all, is a devotional icon. They blend very well with the types derived from Byzantine religious painting, such as the types of apostles etc. The explanation for this lies in the fact that these latter types too are animated by a spirit which is closely akin to the secular, late antique approach. The work is a document of a renaissance movement which, at least in this respect, must have gone far deeper than the Macedonian and Comnenian movements in which only a very small—the genteel and dignified—part of the antique inheritance was revived. The renaissance, of which the icon is a witness, was much more catholic in its approach to antique forms, less circumscribed and handicapped by rigid rules of religious iconography. The new, more realistic, conception of the theme, the more specific iconographic solution, the strong current of secular antique influence,—all go to prove that the mosaic belongs to a considerably later phase of the Byzantine development than the ivories. The mentioned characteristics alone would show with sufficient clearness that the icon is a work of the so-called Palaeologan renaissance; but some formal traits may clinch the argument. There is first the composition as a whole. The figures are arranged in tightly packed, almost regular rows, three, instead of the four loose ranks of the ivories. The heads are, as it were, strung up along horizontal lines, like rows of medallions, and it is not unlikely that this arrangement owes something to the influence of the strings of medallions with the busts of the Forty Martyrs which played so considerable a part in mid-Byzantine monumental decorations.[15] The regular arrangement imparts to the mosaic a certain grandeur which is in impressive contrast to the diminutive scale and the liveliness and realism of the details. This same contrast is a familiar phenomenon in the mosaics of the Kahrieh Djami in Constantinople, the chief monument of the Palaeologan renaissance from the beginning of the 14th century.[16] But there are still closer resemblances between the

[15] For examples see, St. Sophia in Kiev, Nereditzy Spas (both under the cupola), and Monreale (arcades of the nave).

[16] Th. J. Schmit, "Kahrieh Djami," *Izvestiya Russk. Arch. Instituta v Konstantinopolye,* VIII (1902), 119 ff. and XI (1906), Text and Album of Plates. D. Aynaloff, *Vizantiyskaya Zivopisj 14ovo stolyetiya* (Petrograd, 1916). A similar way to enliven a mass of figures without giving up a clear order can bee seen, e.g., in Schmit, *loc. cit.,* XI, pl. XXXVIII, no. 98 or pl. XLIV, no. 104.

icon and the mosaic decoration of the Kahrieh Djami; we find in both works the same jagged highlights on the draperies, the same white patches and strokes, undulating or zigzagging, lightning-like, on hair and beard, the same glinting of obliquely gazing eyes which imparts to the figures a somewhat fierce expression, a similar design and modelling of the nude, a certain *sfumato*, with soft lights and energetic shadows accompanying the contours,—in short, the picturesque treatment which is the most impressive quality of Byzantine 14th century art. Several of the types show a close relationship: the profile (the sixth in the second row) for instance, which terminates in a blunt arc, is one of the stock formulae of the Constantinopolitan mosaics; the old man with the large pointed beard, the fifth from the right in the bottom row, is very similar to the Samuel in the Kahrieh,[17] the second head from the right in the same row corresponds to the head of an angel,[18] etc. Another trait common to the icon and the Kahrieh mosaics is the use of linear connections which weave the single forms into a continuous pattern: the way, e.g., in which the arms and hands are made into a garland, beginning with the crossed arms of the long-bearded old man in trousers, in the front row, to the hands of the third figure from the right in the middle rank; or the connection between the bottom and the top row effected by the arms of the figures at the left edge. There is also, in both works the same deliberate attempt at arranging the heads in "conversational" groups, such as the three heads in the centre of the top row or several groups in the bottom rank. On the side of expression there is in both works a new depth of feeling, a human quality which goes beyond the dignified formulae of mid-Byzantine iconography. The rise of this new feeling in fourteenth century art—which has often, and wrongly, been attributed to Italian influence,—can be traced in other manifestations of Byzantine fourteenth century life, above all in the rise of the Hesychast movement.

The icon and the mosaics of the Kahrieh Djami belong to the same period, the years about 1300. The icon may even be somewhat earlier. And the icon is as much a work of the capital as is the decoration of the church. Only in Constantinople can we expect this blending of the chief qualities of our mosaic: first, the monumental greatness of a well-ordered composition made up of dignified decorous figures in classical poses, but, at the same time,

[17] Schmit, *loc. cit.*, XI, pl. XIX, no. 66.

[18] *Loc. cit.*, pl. XXII, no. 165.

shaped in a lively, animated way; second, the strong classical influence, drawn mainly from secular antique paintings; third, the expressive realism; and, fourth, the masterly technique which avoids the pitfalls of both, dryness and overdecorative richness, so frequent in provincial works.

The metropolitan origin of the work becomes, indeed, quite clear if it is contrasted with the numerous paintings on the same theme in the Balkans[19] and elsewhere in the colonial sphere of Byzantine art.[20] These evoke none of the classical reminiscences which dis-

[19] Macedonia, Serbia and Bulgaria:

Vodoca, Sv. Leontij (13th cent.). See K. Mijatev, "Les quarante Martyrs, fragment de fresque à Vodoca, Macédoine." *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves, Recueil d' études dédiées à M. Uspenskij,* I, p. 102 ff. *Idem,* "Crkvata pri selo Vodoca." *Makedonski pregled,* I, fasc. 7 (Sofia, 1926), pp. 49-57, figs. 1-11. D. T. Rice, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1935), pl. 19, a.

Studenica (12/13th cent.). See P. Pokryškin, *Pravoslavnaya cerkovnaya architektura XII-XVIII stol. v Serbii* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 26; Vl. Petkovič, *Manastyr Studenica* (Belgrade, 1924), p. 52, fig. 59.

Žiča (13th cent.). See K. Mijatev, *Les 40 Martyrs, loc. cit.,* Pl. X/1; VI. Petkovič, *Spasova* crkva u Žiči.

Sopočani (13th cent.). See N. Okunev, *Monumenta artis serbicae, Sopočani* (Zagreb, 1928); idem, *Byzantinoslavica,* I (Prague, 1929), 132.

Gradac (13th cent.). See Mijatev, *loc. cit.,* 104.

Dečani (14th cent.). Seen N. Okunev, *Monumenta artis serbicae,* vol. II.

Lesnovo (14th cent.). See Pokryškin, *loc. cit.,* 32, pl. XXIX; N. P. Kondakoff, *Makedonija* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 65 ff.; N. Okunev, Lesnovo. *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, loc. cit.,* I, 249 ff., pl. XXXVIII.

Ochrida (12th cent.), See N. P. Kondakoff, *Makedonija, loc. cit.;* N. Okunev, "Peintures de l'église Ste. Sophie d'Ochrida." *Mélanges Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, 117 ff.

Tirnovo, Church of the Forty Martyrs. The fresco of the Forty Martyrs in the narthex is completely destroyed. See A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 97.

[20] *Rome,* Chapel of the Forty Martyrs in Sta. Maria Antiqua (8th cent.). See J. Wilpert, *Die roemischen Mosaiken und Malereien* (Freiburg, 1916), pl. 199 ff. The fresco in the apse of this chapel seems to be the earliest preserved instance of the theme: it shows the Forty Martyrs standing in quiet attitudes, with the water up to their knees. At the right is the bath-house with the apostate entering it and two seated guardians next to the door. There are remnants at the top, of an apparition of Christ. Another, later [Pl. 200] fresco shows the Forty as glorified saints.

Cappadocia, Souvech, Church of the 40 Martyrs. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925 ff.), pl. 161 f.

tinguish the new art of Constantinople; these belong to the Byzantine iconographical tradition only insofar as they contain the staple motifs of the theme and as they make use of generally accepted schemes for the lay-out of the whole. But most of the details are products of a popular realistic current which is as far from Byzantine ecclesiastic iconography and typology as from antique or pseudo-antique forms. And none of the works of the popular "baroque" art of the Balcans shows anything like the refinement of the metropolitan mosaic.[21]

It still remains to assign to this precious monument its place among the portative mosaics of the Palaeologan epoch. There is, in fact, nothing really comparable among the half hundred of mosaic miniatures which have come down to us.[22] The Berlin Cruci-

[21] Nearest to the Constantinopolitan tradition is the remnant of the fresco in Vodoca, of the thirteenth or possibly the late twelfth century. The figures are arranged in three ranks as in the mosaic, but they are more widely spaced, showing the upper bodies of all the figures, as in the ivories group. A few figures are common to the fresco and the mosaic: the second figure from the right, bottom row, in the mosaic, who lifts one of his hands to his chest and the other to his forehead, reappears as the second figure from the left in the middle row of the wall painting; the despairing gesture—both hands clutched to the mouth—of the third figure from the right, middle row, in the icon, is to be found again in exactly the same place in Vodoca; and the figure at the left edge of the middle rank in the mosaic corresponds to the one at the right edge, middle register, in the fresco fragment. The collapsing figure seems to be supported in Vodoca in a position halfway between the ivories and the mosaic. There are other parallels in attitudes and gestures; but what is more decisive than the resemblances is the profound difference in spirit. The fresco of Vodoca is much wilder, much more passionate and turbulent in movement and composition. It lacks entirely the noble classicism of the metropolitan mosaic and foreshadows the evolution of later Serbian art, with its popular naiveté and its unrestrained anticlassical realism, as, e.g., exhibited in the thirteenth century paintings of Zič̆a and Studenica. In Zič̆a the collapsing martyr is seen in back view, with outspread arms and his face turned upwards in rapid foreshortening; only the figures in the front rank count, the others are merely filling the space. The ground as a whole seems to be derived from the betrayal by Judas. In the fourteenth century fresco at Lesnovo an elaborate landscape is added, showing the shores of the lake all round the group, which is topped by the apparition of Christ.

[22] The author has in preparation a corpus of Byzantine portable mosaics and would be grateful for particulars about such objects in private collections. The literature on this subject is summarized in the paper by S. Bettini, "Appunti per lo studio dei mosaici portatili bizantini," *Felix Ravenna,* XLVI (1938), fasc. 1, pp. 7-39, with 26 ill.

fixion[23] belongs, like its forerunner, the thirteenth century Transfiguration in the Louvre,[24] to a strictly ecclesiastical tradition and, although possessing a certain monumental grandeur, shows no trace of the renaissance spirit which is so impressive in our icon. The group which can be assembled around the St. Demetrius in Sassoferrato[25] lacks the monumental character; the mosaics of this group are miniature in the specific sense of the word, prettified by an excess of decoration. The Madonna in Sta Maria della Salute,[26] the nearest example of all the fourteenth century Virgins (Athens, Coll. Stoclet in Brussels, Chilandari, Constantinople, Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Maria in Via Lata in Rome, Tivoli) is bolder in the abrupt juxtaposition of light and shade, in the manner of certain mosaics in the Kahrieh Djami. And the most beautiful group of portative mosaics which includes the diptych with the Twelve Feasts in the Opera del Duomo in Florence,[27] the St. George roundel in the Louvre[28] and the Annunciation in the Victoria and Albert Museum[29] represents a slightly later, more picturesque and barocque phase of metropolitan art.

The mosaic of the Forty Martyrs must have been executed in Constantinople at the very beginning of the fourteenth century or possibly in the last years of the thirteenth. It surpasses in artistic value all the strictly contemporary protable mosaic icons. But its

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23 O. Wulff, *Katalog der altchristlichen und byzantinische Kunstdenkmaeler* (Berlin, 1909), III, P. II, no. 1990. D. T. Rice, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 12, b.

24 D. T. Rice, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 12, a. Bettini, *loc. cit.*, fig. 7.

25 Bettini, *loc. cit.*, 19 (with literature) and fig. 9.

26 D. T. Rice, "New light on Byzantine portative mosaics," *Apollo,* XVIII (Oct., 1933), vol. 18, 265 ff., fig. 1. Bettini, *loc. cit.*, figs. on pp. 11 and 12. Both Rice and Bettini have been misled by a late and highly fanciful inscription on the back of the icon into accepting the stylistically impossible date of 1115. V. Lazareff, *Burlington Magazine,* Dec. 1937, p. 250, gives the correct date, the beginning of the Palaeologan era.

27 Volbach-Salles-Duthuit, *Art Byzantin* (Paris, 1933), Pl. 73, 74.

28 E. Muentz, *Bulletin Monumental* (Caen, 1886), Pl. opposite p. 223. Bettini, *loc. cit.*, fig. 15.

29 Bettini, *loc. cit.*, fig. 14. Victoria and Albert Museum, *A picture book of Byzantine art* (London, 1926), pl. 19.

chief value for the history of later Byzantine art lies in the fact that it brings home, clearly and forcibly, the debt which the Palaeologan movement owed to secular antique art. Schmit's much disputed hypothesis[30] that the new contribution of the Palaeologan era consisted in its utilizing, for the first time, the great tradition of profane Hellenistic art for the purposes of religious representation, seems to be fully supported by the evidence of this new jewel of late Byzantine craftsmanship.

O. Demus

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[30] Th. Schmit, "La Renaissance de la peinture byzantine au XIVe siècle," *Revue archéologique,* XX (1912) 2, p. 127 ff. For the highly complicated question of the thirteenth century see K. Weitzmann, "Konstantinopolitan book-illumination in the period of the Latin conquest," *Gazette des beaux Arts,* April 1944, p. 193 ff.

THE CIRCUS PARTIES IN BYZANTIUM

THEIR EVOLUTION AND THEIR SUPPRESSION

The problems of the origin and evolution of the Circus parties in Byzantium have of recent years attracted increasing attention among specialists. This growing interest is only natural, as every student of the early period of Byzantine history is aware of the important rôle which the Circus parties often played in the political and religious life of Byzantium. The problems raised are many and some of them difficult. It is not always easy to give a clear picture of the growth of those parties, as the sources referring to them are not numerous and often lack precision. The present short study has no other object than to recapitulate the results of recent researches and to call the attention of experts to some details that might perhaps help them in solving the puzzle of the sudden disappearance of the Circus parties from political life.

As students of Byzantine history used to look at the world of Byzantium from a Roman angle, little was known until fairly recently of the people's share in public affairs in the Byzantine Empire. It is true, of course, that both people and Senate once participated very actively in the government of ancient Rome, but their rights and influence gradually dwindled to almost complete absorption into the emperor's divine and absolute power; and as the people thus surrendered its sovereignty to the emperor to make him the exclusive and autocratic source of law, the old legislative assemblies ceased to meet and the Senate degenerated into a purely ornamental body with little more than the shadow of its old powers and prerogatives.

The decline definitely began under the successors of Diocletian; and when Constantine the Great founded his dynasty, he could safely offer his administrative posts to senators as well as to knights, since the senators had long ceased to be the monarch's rivals. Since Constantine had transferred the whole organism of Roman institutions to the Bosphorus, it was assumed that things continued to evolve in Byzantium along the same lines as they had done in Rome under the Caesars, and that they were not affected by Christianity however much it may have transformed some of

the old Roman institutions. But it seemed difficult to accept the view that in a Christian empire the imperial sovereignty which the Church had accepted in its Roman form should tolerate any limitation from a body such as the Senate or the people, when the old formula "Senatus Populusque Romanus" was nothing but the empty shell of its old self.[1]

But this general conviction is open to correction, for Christianity did influence the growth of political ideas in Byzantium more than might have seemed possible at first sight. It is now established that when Constantine, compelled by the spread of the Arian heresy and the trouble it created in the Church and in the Empire, decided to summon a council in order to define the true Christian doctrine on the subject, he took his inspiration from the Roman Senate and modelled the convocation and the procedure of the council on the senatorial assemblies, which were to remain the pattern of all subsequent meetings of the same kind.[2]

The new ecclesiastical senate found it of course impossible to keep to the restrictive procedure to which the emperors had subjected the Roman Senate, since the topics on which the bishops, the new senators, had to give their decision, were of vital importance; nor could the emperor, who personally presided at the meetings, unless represented by his magistrates, expect the council merely to express their agreement by acclamation, as had been the general custom at the sessions of the Senate during the last period of the Roman Empire. The new senators were given full freedom of speech and in spite of the emperor's claim to be *summus ponti-*

[1] Cf. on the functions of the Roman people and the Senate under the Republic and the Patriciate, Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht,* III, (Leipzig, 1887, 1888), 1, 2. An exhaustive study on Roman Senate from the Roman Kingdom to the period of the Caesars was written by O'Brien Moore for Pauly's *Real-Enzyklopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* Supplementband VI (Stuttgart, 1935), *s.v.* "Senatus," col. 660-800, where a full bibliography will be found.

[2] Cf. our study "De Potestate Civili in Conciliis Oecumenicis, Acta VI Congressus pro Unione Ecclesiarum"; *Academia Velehradensis* vol. X (Olomouc, 1930). An English translation of the lecture appeared in the Review *Christian East,* X (1932), 95-108. Constantine's initiative must have been accepted the more readily by his contemporaries since the bishops themselves had followed in their deliberative assemblies before the Nicean Council the agenda of the Senate. Cf. P. Batiffol, "Le Règlement des premiers Conciles Africains et le Règlement du Sénat Romain," *Bulletin de l'anc. Lit. et d'archéol. chrét.,* III (1913), 3-19; *Idem,* "Origine du Règlement des conciles," *Études de liturgie et d' archéol.* (Paris, 1919), 84-153.

fex, they actually restricted his authority in religious matters, since they were the only voters, to the exclusion of the emperor or his representatives, as by a special dispensation of Providence it had been the case in the Roman Senate. Their decisions were given force of law in ecclesiastical matters and were endorsed with the emperor's signature. The ecclesiastical senate therefore revived features which had been a credit to the Roman Senate under the Republic.

It is quite possible that this development acted as a stimulant on the further evolution of the Senate in Byzantium. In fact, the Byzantine Senate, contrary to what has been hitherto assumed, was anything but a dead institution, and many instances can be quoted to prove that although it never attained the freedom and importance of its ecclesiastical partner, it still did continue to exist and to perform some important functions for many centuries. In many ways, the Byzantine Senate differed from its Roman predecessor: it was composed of high administrative officials and acted as an imperial council advising the emperor in all matters of imperial concern, the custom gradually prevailing that some political questions should not be decided by the emperor without first being laid before the Senate for its opinion. In the VIIIth century we see that body opposing the emperor's wishes and the weak Michael I yielding to the Senate's will; and in the intervals between two succeeding reigns, the Senate used to function on its own authority.[3] It is then not improbable that the oecumenical councils, which after all were an offshoot of the senatorial institution, infused into the Byzantine Senate, by expanding their own powers, the will to recover some of the functions which had been the attribution of the early Senate.[4]

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[3] This matter has so far not been adequately studied. Cf. J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1910), 4, 7, 34, 48. J. B. Bury compares the functions of the Senate in Byzantium with those of the Synhedrion in the Hellenistic kingdoms. The resemblance deserves to be noted: was there in Byzantium a certain survival of the old Hellenistic traditions which rose again to the surface when the central government was transferred from West to East? Cf. on the interaction of Roman and Oriental law L. Mitteis's book *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den Östlichen Provinzen des Römischen Kaiserreichs* (Leipzig, 1891).

[4] On the Byzantine Senate in the VIIth and XIth centuries, cf. C. Diehl, "Le Sénat et le Peuple Byzantin aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles," *Byzantion,* 1 (1924), 201. On the evolution of the Senate in the western part of the Empire, cf. C. Lécrivain, *Le Sénat Romain depuis Dioclétien à Rome et â Con-*

The fact is that although the old Roman conception of the monarch's absolute sovereignty continued to hold the field in Byzantium, the people had apparently more to say in political affairs than they had in Rome under the Caesars. The people's share in the installation of a new emperor is well known: the emperor had first to be acclaimed by the crowds in the Hippodrome before his coronation. It is well known also that the people of Constantinople often had a voice in the autocrats' decisions; this voice, in the first centuries of the Empire, was pronounced by the two prominent parties in the Circus of the city, the Greens and the Blues. The introduction of this new public feature must somehow be linked with the religious status of the Empire. The great theological controversies which had started with the rise of Arianism were not limited to churchmen and intellectuals, but roused the interest of the middle classes in the cities as well. The special character of eastern Church organisation and of eastern mentality made this inevitable. The growth of eastern Christianity on a national basis had resulted in a lively participation by the ordinary faithful in the divine service and in the life of the Church, and since the champions of the new faith had always made it their policy to appeal to the crowds for support of their doctrines, it was impossible for the faithful to keep clear of controversies. As the agitators looked outside the churches for their base of attack, they could only find it in the existing popular organisations.

On the other hand, if the emperor happened to adhere to the decisions of a heretical assembly and, as executor of the bishops, imposed their decisions on the clergy and the faithful of the Empire, these were left but one way to redress and to restore the faith —to wait patiently for the advent of the next emperor and count on his orthodoxy to reverse the unorthodox acts of his predecessor. It was only natural that many of them did not limit themselves to prayers and pious wishes to attain their end, but cast about for some more tangible methods to get rid of the heretical emperor. Here again, the Byzantine constitution came to the rescue.[5] The

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stantinople (Paris, 1888), *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* LII. We should especially mention two studies by H. Gelzer, *Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz,* and *Die Konzilien als Reichsparlamente,* republished in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1907), 56-155.

[5] A work on the Byzantine constitution is still wanting. E. Stein has been preparing a study on the Byzantine State, but his preparatory study — "Untersuchungen zur Spätbyzantinischen Verfassung und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," published in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte,* Bd. I (1922),

emperor was God's Anointed, chosen by the Lord to carry out His will. Only the Lord had the disposal of the throne. He alone could discard an emperor as He had discarded Saul, and select a better representative as He had selected David to replace Saul. But the only sign of an alteration in God's will was the success of a usurper in seizing the throne and ejecting the occupant, which made a successful revolution the only possible method, one that had the semblance of legality, of getting rid of a monarch who was not wanted. Malcontents could thus hardly think of a better expedient to turn out any emperor who failed to fall in with their political or religious views or to pander to their ambitions.

If any opposition party was to achieve success, it was essential that it should be organised and find a backing in the army as well as among a portion of the populace. Evidently there was in Byzantium no political organisation as such which could be used as a spearhead for any agitation, political or otherwise; but the necessity for giving some sort of expression to agreement or disagreement with imperial policy was so imperative that since such a spearhead did not exist, it had to be created. So it came about that in the early public life of Byzantium the Circus factions provided just the material for the purpose.

The Byzantines had inherited the Romans' passion for horse racing and the organisation which in Rome had grown round the Circus and public entertainments found its way into the new eastern capital. Here the Circus parties—Blues, Greens, Reds and Whites—were at the outset neither more nor less than sporting organisations to look after the numerous personnel employed in the Circus and to finance public sports. Dealing at the beginning only with horse racing, these Circus parties later took over control of all Circus entertainments and, as is the case with our modern foot-

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I-26 — does not touch our problem. We call the reader's attention to the booklet, *The Byzantine Empire*, by N. Baynes (London, 1925), as it would be difficult to find a clearer and more illuminating *exposé* of Byzantine political ideology and one based on more solid knowledge of Roman institutions, especially on pp. 5ff,. 114 ff., 191 ff. Cf. also, H. Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1909), the studies mentioned in the *Ausgewählte Schriften*, and J. B. Bury's *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1910). Cf. the more recent papers: G. Ostrogorski, "Otnoshenye Cerkvi i Gosudarstva v Vizantii," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV (1931), and P. Charanis, "Coronation and Its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire," *Byzantion*, XV (1940-1941), 48-66.

ball clubs, a certain amount of rivalry, which generated not a little heat, kept them interested and in good humour.[6]

In Rome, the Circus parties were probably never more than private organisations; but in Constantinople and in the great cities of the eastern Empire, their private character was soon lost and probably from the IVth century onwards the parties were charged with functions and duties that had little in common with their original purpose. The government formed around the main Circus parties, the Blues and the Greens, a special organisation of the urban population called the *demes (collegia popularia)* whose leaders were appointed, or at any rate, approved by the government. These *demes* constituted a sort of armed popular militia ready at any moment to be summoned to the defence of the cities or to take their share in official celebrations, their task being regulated by the numerous and minute prescriptions of the Byzantine ceremonial code.[7]

The *demes* grew in importance in the centuries that followed, especially at times of invasion when the popular militia had to stand by the imperial army to cooperate in the defence of the threatened cities, while their influence in political life grew apace and became a factor which emperors had to respect. Meanwhile, the Blues and the Greens developed their respective characteristic features as kinds of political parties: the Greens represented the truly popular elements, liberal, "democratic," and were recruited from among the lower classes of artisans, workers and peasants, a turbulent crowd and fond of novelties; the Blues or conservative elements, more stolid and steady, were recruited from among the higher classes, their clients and dependents. In many towns, the two parties often melted into local groups. It is thanks to G. Manojlovic's researches that we are better informed today about these divisions and the people's contribution to the growth of the Byzantine Empire.[8]

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[6] Cf. E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches,* I (Wien, 1928), 441 ff., which has a short account of the evolution of the Circus parties.

[7] It is a moot point whether this interesting and important growth of a popular element in the cities was not a survival under a Roman cloak of old Greek and Hellenistic influences.

[8] "Carigradski Narod," a study published in 1904 in *Nastavni Vjesnik* (Zagreb), XIIth fascicule, translated into French and corrected by M. H. Grégoire in *Byzantion,* XI (1936), 617-716, under the heading "Le Peuple de Constantinople." Cf. also G. I. Bratianu, "L'Empire et la Démocratie à By-

The Constantinople Hippodrome was in fact a sort of parliament, if it be allowable to use such a comparison, where the populace ventilated its opinion, wishes and grievances, and often took its share in the government's important moves. In order to secure the popular support they needed, emperors often found themselves driven to favour one or other of these parties, whose intervention more than once altered the course of the Empire's destiny.[9] They often counterbalanced the emperor's absolute power with happy results, and since religious and political questions had a way of getting inextricably mixed, the influence of either Blues or Greens, whichever happened to be in power, was equally decisive in religious quarrels.

In a few pages, G. Manojlovic[10] has told us of the part played by the Blues and the Greens in Byzantium and throughout the Empire in the Monophysite conflict; but a more detailed account comes from a Russian scholar of Syrian origin, the Hieromonachus Gerasim Yared.[11] Both works show that on religious issues the two factions usually adopted opposite points of view. Generally speaking, the turbulent and liberty-loving Greens were no more friendly to the established religion than they were to the established dynasty and they freely supplied every new heresy with its recruits;

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zance," *Byz. Zeitschrift,* XXXVII (1937), 86-111. Cf. besides, some previous studies on this subject: Wilken, "Die Parteien der Rennbahn, vornehmlich im Byzantinischen Kaiserthum," *Abhandl. d. Phil. Hist. d. Preuss. Ak.* (Berlin, 1827), 217-243; A. Rambaud, *De Byzantino Hippodromo et Circensibus Factionibus* (Paris, 1870); "Le Monde Byzantin," *Revue de Deux Mondes,* Aug. 15, 1871; and Th. Uspenskij, "Partii cirka i Demy v Konstantinoplje," viz. *Vremennik,* I (1894), 1-16. Other indications are to be found in the following writings: E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spätrömischen Reiches,* I (Wien, 1928), 441 ff. Friedländer-Wissova, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,* II (1922), 1 ff. H. Gelzer, "Die Genesis der Byzantinischen Themenverfassung," *Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wissensch. Ph. Hist. Kl.* XVIII, 5 (1899), II, 13-15. The very last treatment of this important subject has just appeared in the *Vizantiiski Sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), pp. 144-227. It is a very scholarly article by A. P. Diakonov, *Vizantiiskie dimy i fakcii v V-VII vv.*

[9] Cf. the study by Yvonne Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice Phocas et Heraclius," *Byzantion,* XI (1936), 499, 536.

[10] "Le Peuple de Constantinople," *loc. cit.,* 655-665. This portion of his study lacks precision.

[11] "Otzuivui sovremennikov o sv. Fotiye Patr. Konst. v svyazi s istorieyu politicheskikh Partii v imperii," *Khristianskoe Chtenie,* 1872-1873. This study has been overlooked by all those who dealt with the problem.

whereas the conservative Blues, who believed in order in State affairs and supported the dynasty, usually stood by the representatives of orthodoxy. That such were to a large extent their respective attitudes in the evolution of the Empire, at any rate till the rise of iconoclasm, will be evident to anyone who examines the religious policy of the Byzantine emperors as they succeeded each other from the Vth century onwards.

Theodosius II for instance, a very learned man according to Cedrenus,[12] first favoured the Greens,[13] then dropped them after they committed themselves to the spread of Monophysitism, to turn to the Blues who supported his sister Pulcheria; and as this lady was recalled from exile, Chrysaphius, the Green leader, as Theophanes the chronicler calls him, was banished in her stead.[14] Marcianus, unlettered and suspicious of all profane knowledge,[15] but naturally orthodox and reactionary, hated the Greens who supported Monophysitism, and he ordered Chrysaphius' execution.[16] Leo I, his successor, (457-474) described by Cedrenus as a man "without instruction or letters,"[17] who insisted on the strict observance of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon,[18] followed Marcianus' policy and looked for his support among the orthodox Blues.

This policy was reversed by Zeno (474-491), who succeeded to the imperial throne after the second Leo's short reign and favoured the Monophysites,[19] though more discreetly than the usurper Basiliscus (475-476). The latter was eventually dethroned by Zeno with the Blues' assistance in return for his reluctant championship of orthodoxy; yet, no small share in his success was due to the Greens, who were aware of his secret sympathy with their cause and whose interest in the usurper Basiliscus[20] had been at best half-hearted. The edict of union that was to seal the reconciliation between the Orthodox and the Monophysites was the outcome

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[12] Cedren. (Bonn), I, 587.

[13] Malalas, lib. XIV, (Bonn), 351 ff. Yared, *loc. cit.*, I, (1872), 95.

[14] Theoph. 5942, (Bonn) I, 157 ff.; (de Boor) I, 101.

[15] Cedren., (Bonn) I, 603.

[16] Malal., lib. XIV, (Bonn) 368.

[17] Cedren., (Bonn) I, 607.

[18] Theoph. 5952, (Bonn) I, 173; (de Boor) I, 112.

[19] On his attitude in the East before his accession to the throne cf. Cedrenus, (Bonn) I, 611 ff.; and Theoph., (Bonn) I, 176; (de Boor) I, 113.

[20] As may be inferred from Malalas' account lib. XV, (Bonn) 379.

of Zeno's fluctuations, though his efforts in the matter remained all but fruitless.[21]

Zeno's successor, Anastasius (491-518) followed his predecessor's vacillating policy, which only encouraged the Greens' disorderly displays under his rule both in Constantinople and in Antioch.[22] Later, Anastasius somewhat turned against orthodoxy,[23] so that when Vitalianus revolted in 514-515, he could do so with the aid of the Blues.[24] The advent of Justin (518-527), another unlettered man, if we may credit Malalas,[25] and Procopius,[26] marked a complete turn of the tide in favour of the Orthodox and the Blues, though he had the good sense to stop their persecution of the Greens and to curb their violence.[27] Justinian carried on his uncle's policy;[28] and as his zeal for orthodoxy prompted him to rough treatment of all disseminators of heresy, the persecution of the Greens flared up again, engineered this time by Blues and Emperor in combination.[29] The notorious Nikè sedition, which all but cost Justinian his throne, had actually been fomented by the Greens with the aid of a number of Blues who resented certain measures taken by the Emperor's government.[30] In due time, the desire to bring about a settlement between the parties and their contradictory theologies inspired a more reasonable religious policy and explains the Emperor Justinian's attitude with regard to the Three Chapters, and his convocation of the Vth Oecumenical Council. At the outset, his wife Theodora befriended the Greens, her father's party, but later, when they failed her at a critical juncture, she transferred her favours to the Blues.[31] Peace was not restored

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[21] The main source of information for this period and Anastasius' religious policy is Theophanes, (Bonn) I, 202 ff.; (de Boor) I, 130 ff.

[22] Malal., I, XVI, (Bonn), 394, 398.

[23] Theoph., (Bonn) I, 246; (de Boor) I, 159, 160; Malal., I,XVI, (Bonn) 407.

[24] Theoph., *loc. cit.* Cf. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London, 1899), I, 295 ff.; Yared, *loc. cit.* (1872), I, 101-105.

[25] L. XVII (Bonn) 410.

[26] *Historia Arcana.* (Bonn) 44.

[27] Theoph., (Bonn) I, 256 ff.; (de Boor) I, 166.

[28] Malal., lib. XVIII, 425; Proc., *Hist. Arc.,* (Bonn) 47.

[29] Proc., *Hist. Arc.,* (Bonn) 76; *De Bello Persico,* (Bonn) II, 203.

[30] Theoph., (Bonn) I, 278 ff.; (de Boor) I, 181 ff.

[31] Proc., *Hist. Arc.,* (Bonn) 58 ff.

till the reign of Justin II (565-578), who whilst refusing to yield to the Blues' exaggerated pretensions, made the Greens realise that the sooner they dropped the truculent attitude they had paraded under Justinian, the better it would be for everyone.[32] Peace then seems to have lasted till the reign of Tiberius II (579-582).

Inter-party wrangles blazed up again under Mauricius (582-602) and Phocas (602-610). Which party Mauricius supported is still a matter of controversy, but contrary to what has been lately asserted, he seems to have patronised the Blues.[33] The Greens then fomented a rebellion against him, turned down the candidature of his son-in-law Germanus, whom they considered too "Blue" and appointed their own candidate Phocas.[34] But Phocas did not enjoy their favour much longer, for he had soon to fall back upon the Blues. Though all these affrays were mainly political in character, religious issues never ceased to hover in the background.

A new phase in the life of the two rival parties seems to have been ushered in by Heraclius (610-641). This great soldier, for all his pro-Green proclivities, apparently practised a policy of conciliation, rendered imperative by the constant threat from Persia looming over the Empire. It was under these circumstances that Heraclius published his *Ekthesis* on the singleness of the will in Christ after His Incarnation. Unfortunate as this publication turned out to be, it apparently revealed certain imperial sympathies for the Greens, invariably the less orthodox of the two parties. Here it is important to note that our information about the

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[32] Theoph., (Bonn) I, 373; (de Boor) I, 243.

[33] For further details, cf. the studies of Yvonne Janssens, "Les Bleus et les Verts," *loc. cit.*, pp. 499 ff.; and by M. H. Grégoire, *"L'Empereur Maurice s'appuyait-il sur les Verts ou sur les Bleus?" Ann. de l'Institut Kondakov,* X (1938), 107-111; and "Maurice le Marcioniste, l'Empereur Arménien et Vert," *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 395, 396. Cf. the judicious remarks by F. Dölger in *Byzant. Zeitschrift,* XXXVIII (1938), 525-528. Prof. Henri Grégoire, upholding Miss Yvonne Janssens' view, maintains, however, that Mauricius was in sympathy with the Greens, until the revolution which overthrew him — a revolution in which the Greens, betraying their protector, took a prominent part. Prof. H. Grégoire's opinion was effectively backed by Prof. A. A. Vasiliev, in *Byzantion,* XVI (1942-1943), 184-188. The late Diakonov (article quoted above on p. 125) clings to the older theory (the Greens were Mauricius' own party).

[34] Theoph. (Bonn) I, 446; (de Boor) I. 289. Still it is perfectly clear that Phocas's overthrow, and the conquest of Egypt by Heraclius' relatives and generals was made possible only by a mass rebellion of the Greens. On the religious policy of Heraclius and his successors, see Prof. H. Grégoire's article in the *Armenian Quarterly,* I (1946), fascicle 1 (January-March), p. 4-21.

two parties' activities under Heraclius is far scarcer than that covering the reigns of his predecessors. This is significant and is generally interpreted as an indication that the Emperor succeeded in his policy of appeasement and that the common danger had induced the factions to forget their grievances and rally round the Emperor. There is some justification for the inference, but is it adequate? Did this forceful soldier not discipline the parties more unconventionally? It is difficult to say; but before clearing up the puzzle, let us see what became of the factions in the years following Heraclius' reign.

The ephemeral reigns of Constantine III and Heracleonas (641) tell us little about the matter under consideration, for they do not seem to have affected the parties at all, though Martina and her family probably shared Heraclius' secret sympathies for the Greens. More important is the reign of Constans II. Under him (642-668), religious polemics flared up again and the Emperor issued the famous *Typos,* which heralded the outbreak of Monothelite hostilities, when the Orthodox were in their turn harrassed by persecution, and Pope Martin, with S. Maximus, paid so dearly for their gallant resistance to the Emperor. The murderous and fatal assault on Constans in Syracuse was attributed by Theophanes[35] to religious motives.

What was Constans' attitude to the parties? First of all, it seems that the revolution which made Constans II the sole ruler, had been fomented by the Blues and that therefore the Emperor must have lent support to that party in the first days of his reign. He must, however, have considerably revised his policy about the year 648, the date of the publication of his *Typos,* a writing which was certainly not appreciated by the Blues. The suppression of the name "Blues" from an inscription on the Great Wall of Constantinople, as deciphered and completed by M. Grégoire, [36] could be perhaps dated from that year. But are we entitled to infer from the foregoing that Constans II went so far as to eject the Blues and the Greens from political life altogether? We can in any case observe features in Constans II's policy towards the parties simi-

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[35] Theoph. (Bonn) I, 537; (de Boor) I, 351.

[36] H. Grégoire, "Une Inscription au nom de Constantin III, ou la Liquilation des Partis à Byzance," *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 165-175. We rather feel inclined to adopt a cautious attitude with regard to this inscription. But H. Grégoire's views are adopted by G. J. Bratianu, *La Fin du régime des Partis à Byzance et la crise antisémite du VII^e siècle,* Revue historique du Sud-Est européen, XVIII, 49-67.

lar to those of Heraclius. Though slightly partial to the Greens, both apparently were anxious to secure appeasement, and the parties seem to have lost their preponderating influence in Byzantine life ever since the reign of Heraclius and Constans II.

These observations would appear to be confirmed by developments in the second half of the VIIth century. Surprisingly few references to the parties are found at this period. Constantine IV (668-685), son of Constans II, profited by the lesson of his father's violent death, and the VIth Oecumenical Council assured the triumph of Orthodoxy over the Monothelite heresy; but however much this looked like a victory for the Blues' policy, no mention of the parties' stand for or against Orthodoxy can be found. The only reference to the Blues under Justinian II (685-695) has rather an athletic character: in order to enlarge the Circus on the emplacement reserved to the Blues, the Emperor was prevailed upon to remove the Church of Our Lady which stood in the vicinity of the Hippodrome [37] and was obviously in the way. May one infer from this that Justinian II, who certainly favoured Constantine IVth's religious policy, rather sided with the Blues? Nothing is said about the two parties under Leontios (695-698), under Tiberius III Apsimarus (698-705), nor under Justinian II's second reign (705-711); this is remarkable, since all these changes on the throne were brought about by revolutions, and in revolutions the two parties were generally prominent.

The Greens seem to have stepped into prominence only under Philippicus Bardanes (711-713) who revived Monothelism, the Greens' favourite tenet. Strangely enough, the usurper was blinded and dethroned the very day he celebrated the victory of the Greens in the Circus.[38] Though no emphasis is laid by the sources on the parties' contribution to these changes, the coincidence deserves some emphasis. Anastasius II (Artemius 713-716) restored Orthodoxy and was dethroned by Theodosius III (716-717). Again nothing is heard of the two parties. How to explain this? Something must have happened to lower the prestige of these politico-religious clans.

To all appearances, their decline was completed under Leo III the Isaurian. In fact, references to the two parties are few from the VIIIth century onwards and when their names occur in the

[37] Theoph. (Bonn) I, 563; (de Boor) I, 368.

[38] Theoph. (Bonn) I, 586, 587; (de Boor) I, 383.

documents, it is almost exclusively in connection with sports. This fact and the reputation which Leo III has so far enjoyed among historians as a great reformer of Byzantine political, legal and financial institutions seem to point to the iconoclastic Emperor as the man who confined the activities of the Blues and the Greens strictly to the field of sports.

On the suppression itself, we have, as already stated, no precise information. There is, however, one document which has been neglected so far, yet gives some interesting details on the parties' rôle before and after their suppression. It is found in Theodore Balsamon's *Commentary* on the XXIVth canon of the Council of Trullo, also called *Quinisextum*. The Greek canonist, who was writing at the end of the XIIth century, in commenting on the twenty-fourth canon of the Council forbidding clergy to attend circus exhibitions, gives some valuable information on the Circus and its parties, and as the passage might easily escape the attention of experts, we shall quote it in full. After stating that some canonists regarded the Council's canon as not binding in their days, he writes:

"In those days people abused their freedom and even grew unruly at the chariot races: they held them when and how they liked and organised them at their own expense; they owned buildings, horses and stables which still exist to-day and drew revenues from the entertainments for their upkeep. They insulted the emperor, but he was unable to check the abuses. As some belonged to the Blues and others to the Greens, clashes sometimes occurred between the opposite factions and insolent words were uttered even in the presence of the emperor, as we learn from various chronicles. Such things happened in the reign of Justinian and at the time of Anastasius, of the tyrant Phocas and other emperors. Though the parties were not forbidden to play for stakes, they used to try to make sure of their victory by divinations and incantations, which is strictly forbidden by the canons. Even fights between animals, with other disgraceful and shameless things, used to be permitted. . . . Yet, Christians have always been warned to keep away from places where there is evil and blasphemy. But to-day, since horse-racing is done in the presence of the emperor, there is nothing that need be shunned or condemned, nor is any suspicion of evil associated with the games. So it was said that however praiseworthy it may be not to find pleasure in horse-racing or other entertainments, yet clerics are allowed to attend them. For if races as they

were practised then and as they are practised now were to be prohibited as well as all theatricals and hunting, then such things could not be done either by the emperor or by anybody else, which is absurd. For these reasons, races and spectacular entertainments must be divided into two classes, as stated before: those that ought to be avoided and shunned, which neither clerics nor laity should be allowed to attend under pain of excommunication; and those which are permitted, are in use to-day and should be open to clergy as well as to laity without any prejudice to themselves."[39]

The document is rather late, it is true and it does not possess the value of a contemporary witness. It warrants no conclusion as to the date of the suppression of the parties' supremacy; but there is no valid reason why we should not accept Balsamon's statement on their rôle before and after the reform as reliable. We may thus conclude that the re-organisation of those circus exhibitions must have been very thorough; that the Greens and the Blues must have lost their autonomous status and that the management of public entertainments in the Hippodrome must have been, to use a modern expression, secularised. The Imperial Chancellery took complete charge, even financially, of all public sports, while the factions of the Greens and the Blues were left with only executive powers. One can read in the *Book of Ceremonies* composed by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos what an insignificant part they were allowed to play: their leaders were only figure-heads whose main function was to greet the emperor according to a definite ritual whenever he presided at State ceremonies.

As to the authorship of this reorganisation, could it be attributed to Leo III? The reputation which this Emperor has had among historians for re-organising the Empire is not wholly deserved and the first iconoclastic Emperor has received the credit for reforms that should have gone to his great predecessor, the Emperor Heraclius, especially in relation to the division of the Empire into *themes* and the concentration of all civic and military powers into the hands of the *strategos* or leader of the *theme*.[40] It was Hera-

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[39] *Theodori Balsamonis Comment. in Canones, P. G.,* 138, col. 592 ff.

[40] G. Ostrogorsky, "Uber die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurer," *Byz. Zeitschrift,* XXX (1929-30), 394-400. On the *themes,* cf. J. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London, 1889), II, 407-438. Cf. what we wrote on the evolution of the Byzantine *themes* in our

clius, not Leo, who overhauled the Byzantine administration and provided the Empire with the solid framework that enabled it for centuries to weather the worst storms. When the Empire was simultaneously threatened by Persians, Arabs and Slavs, Heraclius was not likely to overlook the urgency of keeping the two parties under strict control, and to him was probably due the suppression of that endless and dangerous rivalry between the two parties. His reforms in the administration of the State must have dealt the deathblow to the factions, as the new division of the Empire into *themes* left little room for the old *demes*.

Heraclius' successors, and especially Constans II, carried on his policy and the measures taken by these two Emperors must have clipped the wings of the factions for centuries to come and considerably reduced their contributions to the political and religious evolution of the Empire.

If this is correct, it is possible to explain why the parties—or at least the old party spirit—reasserted themselves, as was stated previously, even after Heraclius' reign, but without their accustomed virulence. They gradually faded away, as the new administrative and military reforms took roots, a process of dissolution that was finally completed in Leo's reign. If then Leo III did have any share in the suppression of the political parties, it was far more limited than would appear at first sight. Just as in the administrative reorganisation, Leo III only gave the final touch to Heraclius' schemes by further dividing the *themes* into smaller units, so in the matter of the Circus parties Leo III may at most be assumed to have set the seal on the process initiated by Heraclius and carried on by his immediate successors, especially Constans II.

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book *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), 3 ff. Cf. also Ostrogorsky's review of E. J. Martin's book, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, 1930), in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXXI (1921), 383 ff.

GREC ANCIEN ET GREC MODERNE
OU
LA GRECE ETERNELLE

Je dois, en commençant, faire appel à l'indulgence de mes lecteurs. Je crains bien de n'avoir pas grand' chose de neuf à leur apprendre. Mais pour rien au monde je n'aurais voulu manquer l'émouvant rendez-vous qui m'est donné d'outre-Atlantique. Pour rien au monde je n'aurais souffert que mon hommage manquât à la gerbe triomphale que les byzantinistes et les philhellènes dédient aujourd'hui à deux hommes que j'estime et que j'aime infiniment, mon maître Henri Grégoire, mon collègue et ami Ernest Honigmann. Je regrette seulement, au moment où je me dispose à offrir ces quelques pages à l'un des plus grand byzantinistes de ce temps et au meilleur des géographes de l'Empire byzantin, de n'être moi-même pas du tout géographe et d'être assez peu byzantiniste. La Grèce byzantine, longtemps si injustement méconnue, n'est cependant pas une part négligeable de l'héritage de l'Hellénisme, et certes je n'ai pas été insensible à son charme. Mais l'art est long, la vie courte, et j'ai péché par inconstance. Voilà des années que je délaisse de plus en plus la ville de Constantin pour la cité de Périclès. Je suis, de mon métier, professeur de grec classique; et je me détache difficilement, même quand je pense à Byzance et à la Grèce d'aujourd'hui, du point de vue d'un philologue classique et d'un historien de l'Antiquité. J'espère qu'on voudra bien me pardonner, en considérant que le domaine hellénique est si vaste et si varié que les chercheurs qui l'exploitent ne peuvent échapper à la spécialisation, quels que soient ses inconvénients.

Je ne connais qu'un helléniste qui se soit toujours dérobé avec succès, dans toute la mesure où la chose est humainement possible (je suis tenté d'ajouter: et même un peu plus) aux dangers de cette compartimentation des connaissances; un helléniste dont j'entendais dire, il y a bien des années: "il connaît tous *les grecs*, depuis le grec d'Homère jusqu'au grec de Vénizélos." Je soupçonne d'ailleurs que ceux qui faisaient de lui cet éloge ne se rendaient pas compte combien cela est exceptionnel parmi les hellénistes. L'homme dont je parle enseigne avec éclat le grec classique. C'est un des interprètes les plus sagaces de la tragédie antique. Il nous a donné, de plusieurs pièces d'Euripide, les meilleures éditions que

nous ayons, ce qui pourrait déjà suffire à la gloire d'un philologue. Or celui-ci est aussi un remarquable épigraphiste. Et pourtant depuis nombre d'années, la plus grande partie de son activité a été consacrée à l'histoire de Byzance, à laquelle il a fait faire des progrès considérables, grâce à plus d'une découverte capitale. Et c'est incontestablement lui qui est, dans le monde entier, le grand animateur des études byzantines. Mais c'est encore un philhellène éclairé, versé dans la littérature grecque moderne—populaire ou savante—et parfaitement au courant de toutes les questions nationales qui préoccupent le public hellénique. Pour tout dire, *nil graecum a se alienum putat:* rien de ce qui est grec ne lui demeure étranger. Et combien de fois ai-je entendu des Grecs même s' émerveiller de la pureté toute attique avec laquelle il parle leur langue, sans le moindre accent, ce qui n'est pas commun.

Quel est le savant dont je parle? Ὅστις δ' οὗτός ἐστιν, dit un poète ancien dans un contexte analogue, οὐκ ἐρῶ (sans doute parce que tout le monde l'avait reconnu). Et moi non plus, je n'ai pas à nommer celui que tous mes lecteurs ont reconnu. Je voudrais seulement redire aujourd'hui, dans la mesure de mes forces, la grande leçon que je dois à l'enseignement d'un tel maître. C'est lui qui m'a faut voir, à travers la longue histoire, pleine de vicissitudes surprenantes, du parler, de la vie et de l'esprit grecs, tant de facteurs constants, permanents, éternels, qu'aucune des époques de ce grand ensemble historique ne se peut tout à fait comprendre sans quelque familiarité avec les autres moments de son évolution. La sûreté du *Sprachgefühl*, du "sentiment de la langue" dont j'ai toujours vu témoigner Henri Grégoire, aussi bien devant une scène d'Euripide que devant une page d'un chroniqueur byzantin, tient en grande partie au fait que jamais les nécessités de la spécialisation, qu'il n'ignore pas cependant, ne lui ont fait perdre de contact avec une des "deux moitiés de la langue grecque": ni avec l'élément antique et savant, dont il reste tant de choses dans la langue d'aujourd'hui, ni avec l'élément populaire, dit moderne, mais qui a ses racines dans un passé très lointain. J'emprunterai un assez grand nombre de remarques à l'expérience de mon bon maître,[1] et quel-

[1] Je renvoie avant tout à son article: *Charme et utilité du grec moderne*, dans: *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XVII, 1938, p. 5-26. J'ai complété cette excellente conférence au moyen d'autres travaux d'Henri Grégoire, qui seront cités en temps et lieu, et au moyen de mes souvenirs personnels de son enseignement.

ques-unes à la mienne,[2] pour vous montrer, si possible, en quelques pages, quel profit les philologues classiques peuvent retirer de la connaissance du grec moderne; et inversément , de quelle utilité le grec ancien reste pour les byzantinistes et néo-grécisants. Cette leçon, on le voit, s'adresse à tout le monde: mais naturellement les "classiques" en ont plus besoin que les médiévistes, car chez les "classiques" la connaissance du grec moderne est l'exception, au lieu qu'il n'y a guère d'exemple que l'on aborde la littérature ou l'histoire byzantine sans avoir passé par la littérature antique.

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Il y a un beau passage de Pindare (*Ol.* VI, 75) qui évoque les vainqueurs aux grands Jeux, "arrivés les premiers au terme du douzième tour de piste, sur qui Charis, déesse de l'Honneur, répand une glorieuse beauté":

> οἷς ποτε πρώτοις περὶ δωδέκατον δρόμον
> ἐλαυνόντεσσιν αἰδοία ποτιστά-
> ξῃ Χάρις εὐκλέα μορφάν.

Le mot ποτιστάξῃ, "distille, laisse tomber goutte à goutte," fait image, et cette image est bien antique: c'est celle du *lécythe* dont on fait couler lentement le liquide parfumé. Les métaphores de Pindare sont souvent empruntées aux *realia* de la vie courante, et celle-ci nous laisse supposer qu'on honorait ainsi les triomphateurs. Or, quand le professeur Grégoire explique ce passage, il ne manque jamais de rappeler l'entrée des Grecs victorieux à Janina, au cours de la guerre des Balkans, et les femmes qui, des fenêtres, vidaient des fioles de parfum sur la tête des soldats. Qui cependant se fût attendu à retrouver dans la Grèce du XX^{e} siècle la coutume (médiocrement attestée par la littérature classique) à laquelle Pindare fait allusion?

La permanence qui se constate, dans quelques cas privilégiés, pour les usages, se vérifie bien plus souvent pour la langue. A partir d'une époque beaucoup plus haute qu'on ne le croit d'ordinaire,

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[2] Il ne sera pas superflu d'indiquer nettement que mon expérience est celle d'un *philologue* et non d'un *linguiste*. Les pages qui suivent s'adressent plus particulièrement au traducteur et à l'exégète des textes grecs. Le point de vue du linguiste et celui de l'éditeur ont été magistralement exposés par A. Thumb, *Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strasbourg, 1901, en quelques pages (11-20) dont l'auteur lui-même (*Inhalt*, p. V) a caractérisé le contenu en ces termes: *Wert des Neugriechischen für die altgriechische Philologie.*

le grec moderne est susceptible d'apporter aux philologues un secours que la plupart d'entre eux ne soupçonnent même pas. Ce secours est surtout précieux pour les éditeurs de papyrus. Je vais essayer, par un example très simple, de vous faire comprendre sa nature—et aussi ses limites, car il ne faut abuser de rien.

Il y a quelques années, mes savants collègues Marcel Hombert et Claire Préaux, publiant dans la *Chronique d'Egypte* (No. 24, p. 261 ss.) un certificat d'exemption de la λαογραφία (impôt par tête) datant du I^er^ siècle de notre ère, hésitaient sur les sens du mot ἀσθενής qui indique, dans ce document, la cause de l'exemption (ἀσθενὴς ἀπολελυμένος τῆς λαογραφίας). "Le mot ἀσθενής," écrivaient-ils (p. 262) "par lequel débute notre certificat doit-il être entendu au sens de pauvre? Nous ne le croyons pas. L'usage semble avoir été d'appeler ἄπορος un individu dépourvu de moyens. A en juger par le dictionnaire de Preisigke, on ne trouve pas, dans les papyrus, l'adjectif ἀσθενής employé dans ce sens." Cette discussion est fort correctement menée (nous avons affaire à des éditeurs qui savent leur métier) et elle aboutit à une conclusion qui me paraît inattaquable: "l'exemption accordée à Satabous a donc pour motif la maladie." Ainsi, grâce à leur méthode prudente, mes deux collègues ont su échapper à la tentation, selon moi funeste, de traduire ἀσθενής par "indigent." Or il est probable que cette idée ne leur serait même pas venue s'ils avaient songé que la langue d'aujourd'hui distingue tout à fait nettement le malade (ἀσθενής) de l'indigent (ἄπορος).

Et pourtant, le "doute méthodique" des éditeurs de ce certificat est parfaitement justifié. "On a souvent, avec raison," notent-ils dans leur commentaire, "assimilé l' ἀσθένεια à l' ἀπορία. En effet, dans la langue des papyrus, ἀσθένεια désigne fréquemment l'épuisement économique. Dès le III^e^ siècle avant Jésus-Christ, l'administration s'intéresse au sort des ἀσθενοῦντες. Ce n'est pas seulement aux III^e^ et IV^e^ siècles, lorsque fléchit l'empire romain, que l' ἀσθένεια dépeuple les villages, etc. . . ." On trouve même, comme M. Hombert veut bien me l'écrire, dans le papyrus Théadelphie 20, l'expression ἀσθενεστέρας κώμας qui ne peut guère désigner que des villages *plus faibles économiquement*, c.à.d. *plus pauvres*. Les sens de pauvre, pauvreté, pour ἀσθενής ἀσθένεια, sont d'ailleurs des sens très anciens, ils se trouvent déjà chez Hérodote. Dans les papyrus, ἀσθενής, appliqué à une communauté, peut encore signifier *pauvre*. Appliqué à un individu, au contraire, il ne désigne jamais *la privation des moyens d'existence* (on dirait: ἄπορος) mais ne s'entend

plus que de l'état physique; et sur ce point, il y a coïncidence avec l'usage moderne.

La langue des papyrus nous apparaît donc, dans le cas d' ἀσθενής et des termes apparentés, comme intermédiaire entre le grec ancien et le grec moderne. Elle a encore, pour certains de ces mots, une acception qui ne pourrait guère se rencontrer aujourd'hui que dans une prose très artificielle, influencée par la langue classique. Mais ἀσθενής lui-même, le mot le plus populaire de la série, dans son usage le plus vivant, *c.à.d. quand il est appliqué à une personne*, n'a plus le sens antique, très général, de "faible," mais le sens moderne, beaucoup plus précis, de "malade." Ἀσθενής = malade, c'est déjà du grec moderne, à côté d' ἀσθενεστέρας κώμας qui est encore du grec ancien. Peut-être y a-t-il déjà là un phénomène de *diglossie*.

Le grand intérêt de la comparaison d'un texte payrologique avec la langue actuelle est donc de nous fournir des indications sur le degré d'avancement de l'évolution du grec à cette date, sur le degré de vulgarisme ou d'archaïsme du texte considéré, sur la mécanisme enfin de l'évolution linguistique (les mots les plus vivants dans l'usage évoluant plus vite que les autres). Dans les cas douteux pour le sens, j'ai la ferme conviction que le grec moderne nous fournira presque toujours du premier coup la solution juste. On voit cependant par l'exemple cité qu'il est prudent de ne pas s'y fier aveuglément, car il n'y a pas identité, naturellement, entre la langue vivante des premiers siècles de notre ère et la langue vivante d'aujourd'hui. Mais partout où la comparaison pourra se faire, elle ne manquera pas d'être instructive. Et il est un cas où le grec moderne se révélera tout particulièrement précieux, c'est celui des mots nouveaux, non encore attestés par la littérature antique, dont quelque papyrus vient apprendre l'existence aux historiens de l'Antiquité. Ainsi, par exemple, ἐφετεινός et κοβαλεύω.

Une anecdote que M. Grégoire a souvent rappelée est celle de J. Maspero rencontrant dans un papyrus le mot ἐφετεινός ("de cette année") et se déclarant incapable de traduire cet ἅπαξ. Il écrivait cela à Alexandrie, ville grecque, où le premier passant venu eût pu lui indiquer le sens de ce terme toujours en usage. La même mésaventure est arrivée tout récemment à un de mes élèves, épigraphiste d'avenir, qui a rencontré, sans le comprendre, le même mot ἐφετεινός dans une inscription d'Asie Mineure. Le grand Wilamowitz

lui-même, rendant compte du t. I des *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*[3] y rencontrait l'expression nouvelle κοβαλεῦσαι χόρτον, dont le contexte, cette fois, montrait clairement la signification. Il a bien vu le rapport avec le grec ancien κόβαλος, mais non la quasi-identité de κοβαλεύω avec le néo-grec κουβαλῶ, dont sans doute il ne soupçonnait pas l'existence.[4] Car trop souvent les plus grands hellénistes, à la rigueur capables de s'exprimer dans l'attique de Lysias, sont totalement ignorants de la langue vivante. Et le cas de κοβαλεύω, encore cité par Liddell et Scott sans la moindre référence à κουβαλῶ, illustre bien "l'absurdité de cette cloison étanche qui, pour les lexicographes les mieux informés, continue à se dresser, palissade infranchissable, entre les deux périodes de l'histoire du grec." (H. Grégoire, dans *Byzantion*, XI, 1936, p. 775).

Ce qui est vrai de la κοινή parlée que nous révèlent les papyrus est encore vrai, avec quelques réserves, de cette κοινή "littéraire," mais vulgarisante, qui est représentée par la *Septante* (dans les parties où elle n'est pas trop littéralement traduite de l'hébreu) et par les Evangiles. Je n'ai pas à m'attarder longuement sur les corrections bien connues que M. Hubert Pernot a apportées à notre compréhension des Evangiles, montrant, par exemple, que κυνίδιον est "un chien" et non "un petit chien," et que ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς ἕνα λόγον ne veut pas dire: "je vous ferai une seule question," mais bien: "je vais vous demander quelque chose." Dans le même sens, Pallis[5] a rectifié plus d'une traduction erronée, comme ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον (Marc, 21, 1) "il bâtit un château, une villa" et non "une tour"; ἄρχων, Mat., 9, 18=seigneur (ἄρχοντας!) et non "chef."

La plus jolie de ces corrections me paraît celle-ci. Marc, 14, 41: καὶ ἔρχεται τὸ τρίτον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἀπέχει· ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα ... ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ... La traduction de Segond (que je prends au hasard, mais elles sont probablement toutes pareilles) est ici d'une rare absurdité: "Dormez maintenant, et reposez-vous! C'est assez! L'heure est venue ... Levez-vous, allons." Evidemment, comme Pallis l'a fait remarquer, καθεύ-

[3] Wilamowitz, *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1898, 2, p. 689. J'emprunte cette référence à H. Grégoire, *L'étymologie de Caballus ou de l'utilité du grec moderne*, dans *Etudes horatiennes* (Travaux de la Faculté de Phlosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, VII, 1937), p. 88, n. 3.

[4] Dès 1901, Thumb (*op. laud.*, p. 213) faisait le rapprochement avec κουβαλῶ.

[5] A. Pallis, *Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew*, Oxford University Press, 1932, p. IV, 41 et 76.

δετε et ἀναπαύεσθε sont des indicatifs et τὸ λοιπόν=οὖν. "Vous dormez maintenant!" Comparez le grec moderne: λοιπὸν ἀρνεῖσθε: "ainsi, vous refusez?"

* * *

Voilà pour les textes en κοινή vulgarisante. Quant à la κοινή littéraire des écrivains de l'époque impériale, elle est devenue, sans grandes modifications, la langue des écrivains byzantins. Pour interpréter cette langue littéraire romaine ou byzantine, on fera bien de se souvenir que la καθαρεύουσα lui a emprunté tout son vocabulaire savant et abstrait. Il m'est arrivé jadis[6] de relever, dans une traduction de Nicéphore Grégoras,[7] due d'ailleurs à un jeune savant de grand mérite, le regretté Stéphane Binon,[8] certaines inadvertances. Le traducteur avait rendu ἐπιφάνεια ("surface") par "puissance" (le souvenir d'Antiochus Epiphane semble lui avoir ici joué un mauvais tour), φρόνημα ("moral") par "conscience," ἄντικρυς ("exactement") par "ouvertement." Et je faisais observer à ce propos que "ἐπιφάνεια, φρόνημα, ἄντικρυς ont gardé, dans la καθαρεύουσα, le sens que Grégoras leur donnait." Entendons-nous bien. Il est évident que pour établir scientifiquement le sens d'un mot ou d'une locution de Nicéphore Grégoras, le meilleur critère restera *l'usage de Nicéphore Grégoras,* ou, à son défaut, l'usage des écrivains de son temps. Et il serait absurde de prétendre que jamais cet usage ne diffère de l'usage actuel. Il n'est donc pas question (je l'ai déjà dit une fois à propos des papyrus) de se fier aveuglément au témoignage du grec moderne. Mais on sent bien que la translation d'un texte suivi n'est jamais un travail purement scientifique. Il est impossible de s'astreindre à vérifier pour chaque mot l'usage de l'auteur ou l'usage de son temps. Connaître une langue suppose avant tout qu'on la comprend, "à vue," mécaniquement, sans intervention d'un processus d'analyse critique. Le traducteur n'ira pas chercher au dictionnaire les mots qu'il croit comprendre du premier coup. Cette vérification n'intervient que dans les cas où son intuition ne lui suffit plus, où le texte cesse de lui paraître trans-

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[6] *L'Antiquité Classique,* VII, 1938, p. 479 s.

[7] *Eloge de S. Mercure,* traduit par St. Binon dans: *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à S. Mercure de Césarée,* Louvain, 1937.

[8] Stéphane Binon est tombé le 26 mai 1940, à Wakken, sur la Lys, à la tête de sa compagnie. Il avait 32 ans. Le R. P. François Halkin, Bollandiste, a revu pour l'impression, avec un soin et une piété admirables, le livre que Stéphane Binon laissait inachevé (*Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos,* Louvain, 1942, *Bibl. du Muséon,* vol. 13). Ce livre est un modèle de critique diplomatique.

parent. En dehors de ces cas difficiles, le mot-à-mot qui sert de base à son exercice de translation lui est fourni par une série de réflexes acquis, chaque mot lui suggérant automatiquement son équivalent étranger — ou du moins ce qu'il croit être son équivalent, car, parmi ces réflexes, il y aura naturellement un certain nombre d'*actes manqués*. Or l'expérience enseigne que les hellénistes qui parlent la καθαρεύουσα (notez que je n'ai pas la prétention de me ranger parmi eux) commettent moins de contresens que les autres en traduisant des textes en κοινή littéraire: ils ont de meilleurs réflexes. On peut ajouter que des auteurs comme Nicéphore Grégoras, malgré leur volonté de rester classiques, sont à mi-chemin entre la prose antique et la prose moderne, au point que la question se pose de savoir quel est, pour traduire de tels auteurs, le meilleur instrument de travail: le Bailly, le Liddell et Scott, ou un bon dictionnaire moderne ... En fait, je me suis assuré que feu Stéphane Binon eût évités les méprises que je signalais plus haut, si, au lieu de se fier à de vagues souvenirs "classiques," comme le fait trop souvent l'helléniste aux prises avec un texte byzantin, il avait tout simplement ouvert, *sub verbis*, l'excellent *Lexique grec moderne*-français de M. Hubert Pernot (Paris, Garnier, 1933).

* * *

La critique est aisée, mais l'art est difficile. J'ai moi-même éprouvé à mes dépens l'utilité du grec moderne et du lexique de M. Pernot ... C'était en 1934. M. Perdrizet venait de publier dans les *Mélanges Bidez* une épitaphe métrique provenant d'Hermopolis Magna.[9] Le défunt, qui selon une fiction habituelle est censé parler au passant, exprime dans ce texte son horreur pour les pratiques funéraires des Egyptiens de la basse époque (lui-même avait eu des funérailles à la grecque, c'est-à-dire qu'il avait été incinéré, ce qui revenait beaucoup moins cher: et, en définitive, cette longue épitaphe n'a d'autre but que de laver son héritier du soupçon d'avoir regardé à la dépense). "Voyageur," dit ce jeune Grec qu'a fait parler un poète d'occasion, "chez moi tu n'as pas à craindre la mauvaise odeur de l'huile de cèdre":

οὐ δυσωδία
παρ' ἐμοί σε λυπεῖ τῆς ἀηδοῦς κεδρίας ...

"J'ai enjoint à mon cousin," dit-il encore, "de s'abstenir à mon sujet de toute lamentation funéraire, et de ne pas m'enterrer pour

[9] P. Perdrizet, *Le mort qui sentait bon*, dans: *Mélanges Bidez* (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales de l'Université de Bruxelles*, II, 1934), p. 719-727.

me déterrer à nouveau, mais de ne procéder qu'une fois à ma sépulture . . ."

Le texte ajoute: χωρὶς κεδρίας καὶ τῆς δυσώδους ἀποφορᾶς, ce que M. Perdrizet rendait par: "sans huile de cèdre *ni translation malodorante.*" Il se trouva que quelques-unes des lectures et des interprétations de M. Perdrizet étaient sujettes à revision. Je fus donc amené à reprendre, dans diverses publications,[10] l'épitaphe d'Hermopolis. Mais je ne songeai pas un instant à suspecter la traduction de ἀποφορά par "translation." D'autres hellénistes, et parmi eux quelques-uns des plus grands, étudièrent vers la même époque l'épitaphe de Seuthès sans rien soupçonner non plus à ce sujet. En fait, un article de M. Ad. Wilhelm, le savant épigraphiste de Vienne,[11] finit par rendre manifeste ce fait incroyable qu'en présence du texte nouveau d'Hermopolis la Grande, personne avant lui n'avait songé à ouvrir un dictionnaire grec quelconque au mot ἀποφορά. M. Wilhelm, plus curieux, le fit, et constata, *primo,* que jamais ἀποφορά ne signifie translation; *secundo,* que dans plusieurs passages d'époque romaine, il est employé, une fois avec l'épithète δυσώδης comme dans la nouvelle inscription, au sens de "émanation, odeur," généralement déplaisante, et en particulier, "odeur cadavérique." Il n'y avait pas à discuter, mais je me sentis, je l'avoue, un peu humilié. J'en vins à me demander si une méthode plus rapide encore que celle de M. Wilhelm ne m'eût pas évité cette erreur. Je n'avais pas, à ce moment, sous la main le dictionnaire de Pernot. J'avais mieux. Un jeune Grec d'Athènes fréquentait notre Institut oriental. S'occupant exclusivement de littérature byzantine, il ignorait tout des polémiques provoquées par le nouveau texte d'Hermopolis. Je demandai donc à brûle-pourpoint à ce témoin candide: "Que signifie le mot ἀποφορά?" Et, naturellement, il me répondit sans l'ombre d'une hésitation: "Mauvaise odeur." Cette fois encore, le dictionnaire de Pernot m'eût apporté du premier coup la solution. On y lit, en effet, à la page 64: " 'Αποφορά. odeur forte; mauvaise odeur." Hésychius déjà, je le confesse, si j'avais songé à recourir à ce précieux lexicographe, véritable Providence des exégètes embarrassés, m'eût répondu correctement . . . Hésychius, mais non son dernier éditeur, M. Moritz Schmidt, qui intercale, entre la glose ἀποφορά et l'explication correcte, ὀσμή, cette désolante conjecture: <*imo* ἀναφορά> (!)

[10] *L'Antiquité Classique,* III, 1934, p. 91-96; *Chronique d'Egypte,* 18, juillet 1934, p. 346-350; 26, juillet 1938, p. 373-377; 29, janvier 1940, p. 132 s.

[11] A. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger der Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse,* 1936, p. 56-65.

Si j'ai raconté un peu longuement cette anecdote, c'est que je la trouve très significative. Ma modeste personne n'y est pas seule compromise. Sans parler même de l'éditeur d'Hésychius, qui est vraiment sans excuse, on peut admettre qu'entre 1934 et 1936 un assez grand nombre de philologues classiques ont lu l'épitaphe de Seuthès, que sa nouveauté mettait à la mode. Tous se sont mépris, à la suite du premier éditeur, sur un passage excessivement simple, et leur méprise est de telle nature que jamais, il me semble, elle n'aurait été commise par un homme cultivé qui aurait eu le grec pour langue maternelle. *Et nunc erudimini . . .*

* * *

L'inscription d'Hermopolis doit dater du I^re^ siècle de notre ère. Mais il semble qu'il faille faire commencer plus tôt encore la période pour laquelle le néo-grec est valable comme élément de comparaison. Sans doute, le grec moderne n'apporte pas grand'chose à l'exégèse des poètes, hellénistiques ou classiques, dont le langage assez artificiel pouvait déjà de leur temps passer pour une langue morte. Font toutefois exception, jusqu'à un certain point, les poètes de la comédie, ancienne ou nouvelle, qui usent de l'attique parlé: dès lors, la comparaison avec la langue vivante d'aujourd'hui reprend ses droits. Voici un exemple emprunté à un fragment retrouvé sur papyrus.[12]

"Il y avait un fromage," dit un cuisinier de comédie racontant ses larcins, "je l'ai escamoté; j'ai râflé la graisse . . ." Τυρὸς ἦν τις· ἔσπασα. / στέαρ ἔμαρψα . . . Jusqu'ici tout va bien. Mais lisons le second hémistiche: . . . ἔλαιον ἐξηρασάμην. MM. Guéraud et Jouguet traduisent: "je me suis offert l'huile." "Le sens est," lit-on dans leur commentaire, "dédier solennellement" et on nous renvoie à ἠρησάμην d' ἀράομαι, SOPH., *Oed. Roi,* 251 et 1291. "Le cuisinier veut-il dire: je me suis dédié l'huile, en offrande solennelle? Même entendue plaisamment, l'expression est assez peu satisfaisante. La correction facile ἐξηρανάμην, "j'ai séché l'huile" n'est pas non plus très vraisemblable . . ." Rien de plus simple, en réalité. Il ne faut naturellement rien corriger. Ἐξηρασάμην est le moyen d' ἐξεράω, appliqué par un autre poète comique (Cratès, fr. 14 Kock) à une marmite que l'on vide de son contenu: τὴν χύτραν χρῆν ἐξερᾶν τὰ τεῦτλα, "il faut qu'elle dégorge ses bettes," Le

[12] O. Guéraud et P. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e^ siècle avant J. C.,* Le Caire, 1936, p. 31-33.

moyen ἐξερᾶσθαι prend le sens de: "faire dégorger à son profit," vider un récipient de son liquide. Le mot est déjà dans Aristophane, où déjà les copistes—et quelques philologues—l'ont méconnu. M. Grégoire a lui-même commenté fort judicieusement, après l'avoir corrigée,[13] l'erreur de MM. Guéraud et Jouguet (*Byzantion*, XIII, 1938, p. 63): "Le grec moderne dit ξερνῶ, ἐξέρασα pour "vomir." Comme il arrive souvent, il a gardé absolument intact un aoriste antique, quitte à "refaire" un présent sur cet aoriste d'après l'analogie (γερνῶ - ἐγέρασα, ξεχνῶ - ξέχασα, etc. ...) Ceux qui parlent le néo-grec plus ou moins couramment ne sont pas exposés, comme d'excellents hellénistes "livresques," à méconnaître un verbe aussi familier, quand ils en rencontrent par hasard une forme chez les classiques."

Avec la comédie ancienne, le néo-grécisant acquiert un droit de regard sur la plus belle époque, peut-être, de la littérature grecque, le V^e^ siècle. Il y a plus d'éléments communs que le philologue classique ne le croit entre le parler des personnages d'Aristophane et la langue des Grecs d'aujourd'hui. Je me souviens que M. Grégoire a été lui-même surpris le jour où il a retrouvé pour la première fois chez Aristophane une des expressions les plus curieuses (et qu'on pouvait croire d'origine chrétienne) de la langue moderne. On sait que "feu mon père," par exemple, se dit aujourd'hui: ὁ μακαρίτης ὁ πατέρας μου. Mais déjà Aristophane, dans un passage d'un comique passablement macabre, où il veut démontrer que Pluton (Πλούτων = Le Riche), roi des Enfers, a la part plus belle que son frère Zeus, cite cette habitude de langage comme un argument en faveur de sa thèse. (fr. 488 Kock, v. 6 ss.) "On ne nous mettrait pas de couronnes sur la tête, quand nous sommes morts, et on ne nous parfumerait pas au nard si ce n'était pas pour boire, aussitôt arrivés en bas. Et c'est bien pourquoi les morts sont appelés bienheureux. Tout le monde dit: le défunt s'en est allé, il s'est endormi. ... Heureux homme, à combien de chagrins il échappe":

διὰ ταῦτα γάρ τοι καὶ καλοῦνται μακάριοι·
πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἴχεται,
κατέδαρθεν· εὐδαίμων, ὅσ' οὐκ ἀνιάσεται ...

Rien d'étonnant donc si la connaissance du grec moderne a quelquefois permis de restituer le texte d'Aristophane dans l'un ou l'autre passage corrompu. En tout cas mon maître, que je dois citer

[13] L'erreur n'avait pas échappé à Koerte, *Archiv. für Papyrusforschung*, XIII, 1938, p. 108.

un fois de plus, a appliqué cette méthode avec un plein succès à un passage des Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι pour lequel les éditeurs semblaient avoir abandonné tout espoir d'émendation. Je renonce à paraphraser cette page d'excellente philologie,[14] qu'il vaudra mieux, je crois, reproduire, avec quelques coupures, pour ne pas allonger indéfiniment la présente étude.

"Ce vers se trouve dans la célèbre parodie de l'Hélène d'Euripide. Le Parent d'Euripide a été arrêté par les femmes qu'il espionnait; Euripide, déguisé en Ménélas, se présente pour le délivrer. Il récite une partie du rôle du roi de Sparte; le Parent lui donne la réplique, en citant plus ou moins textuellement les paroles d'Hélène dans la tragédie ...

ΕΥ. Ἑλένῃ σ' ὁμοίαν δὴ μάλιστ' εἶδον, γύναι.
ΚΗ. Ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελέῳ σ', ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων.

EURIPIDE. O femme, je te vois tout pareille à Hélène ...
LE PARENT. Et moi à Ménélas, au moins d'après tes ... herbes.

"Ce qui est absurde. Alphonse Willems, avec son flair habituel, a déclaré gâté le texte de ce vers 910. En fait, le manuscrit unique, le Ravennas, ne donne point ἰφύων [qui vient des scholies], mais ἀφύων. Ἴφυον veut dire *lavande*, ἀφύη, *anchois* ... Mais ἀφύων est impossible métriquement: le α de ἀφύη est bref. Telle est évidement la raison qui a produit (dans l'antiquité) la correction, à la fois savante et *idiote* (comme il arrive) d' ἀφύων en ἰφύων. Ἴφυον a un ι long." Le scholiaste prétend qu'il y a ici une allusion aux herbes que vendait, d'après la tradition, la mère d'Euripide. "Mais tout cela ne tient pas debout. Une plaisanterie pareille n'aurait été comprise de personne. Personne ne songe ici à la mère d'Euripide, ni à ses herbes, encore moins à aucune sorte de lavande. On se moque du costume de Ménélas qui, l'année précédente (412) dans l'*Hélène*, avait paru sur la scène comme le roi des rois en haillons du πτωχοποιός, du ῥακιοσυῤῥαπτάδης Euripide. Cet accoutrement piteux avait été naturellement copié, et rendu plus grotesque encore, par Aristophane. Conclusion: ce n'est pas à ses lavandes (ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων ! ?) que l'on reconnaît le pauvre Ménélas, mais à ses *hardes* (ἐκ τῶν ἀμφίων). Il fallait, pour trouver une vérité si évidente, partir non d' ἰφύων, correction savante et stupide, mais du texte corrompu, métriquement impossible, ἀφύων. La connaissance du grec moderne, où ἄμφια est un mot aussi banal que sacré, suffisait

[14] H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XIII, 1938, p. 63.

pour faire cette émendation à laquelle personne n'a songé, précisément parce que les plus grands hellénistes n'ont aucune teinture de néo-grec. Les lecteurs de *Byzantion* savent qu' ἄμφια, aujourd'hui, ne s'emploie qu'à propos de vêtements sacerdotaux, de nappes d'autels, de voiles liturgiques. Mais il s'agit là d'une restriction de sens très particulière et tardive. Anne Comnène et Michel Glykas usent beaucoup plus généralement du mot ἄμφια, auquel ils donnent la signification de "vêtements," "harnois de guerre." La couleur du mot est différente à l'époque classique. A propos du plus ancien exemple (Ἄμφιον· ἔνδυμα, Σοφοκλῆς Μώμῳ = fr. 420 chez A. C. Pearson, vol. 2, p. 78) l'éditeur des fragments de Sophocle disait fort justement: Ἄμφιον *was probably a colloquial rather than a litterary word. It occurs in I G, III, 60, 4* καὶ ἄμφια καὶ οἰκήσεις *and is used vaguely for "wraps" in Dion. H. Ant. Rom., 4 76:* ἐπὶ κλίνης μέλασιν ἀμφίοις ἐστρωμένης. *Living on in the popular speech it came to the surface in the Byzantine era. In Suidas it appears as a gloss on* ἀμπεχόνη. Le *Momos* de Sophocle était un drame satyrique. Il est naturel qu'un terme vulgaire comme ἄμφιον ne se trouve précisément que dans un drame satyrique, dans le texte d'Aristophane, où, nous avons vu, on peut le rétablir avec certitude, et, finalement, dans une inscription du IV^e^ siècle, sorte d'inventaire d'héritage. Quant à l'histoire ultérieure du mot, il est probable qu'il a plu par sa rareté à l' "helléniste" Anne Comnène, et que les liturgistes, ignorant sa couleur jadis vulgaire, l'ont préféré, pour désigner des vêtements et ornements ecclésiastiques, en raison de sa rareté même."

* * *

Il y a, dans la suite des démarches et des recherches qui ont permis de restituter ἀμφίων dans un vers d'Aristophane, quelque chose de paradoxal. Car ce mot, on l'a vu, était rare *et vulgaire* dans la grécité ancienne, au lieu que c'est *par la voie littéraire* qui'l est venu au grec moderne. Ainsi donc, à l'occasion, la "langue épurée" elle-même peut nous faire retrouver des parties précisément *vulgaires* du vocabulaire des auteurs anciens. Cela montre que si certains mots se sont anoblis au cours des âges, il y a toujours eu, depuis qu'il y a une littérature grecque, des mots nobles et des mots roturiers, qu'il y a toujours eu, plus ou moins, *diglossie*. La connaissance des éléments de la δημοτική peut donc être particulièrement précieuse partout où la langue parlée affleure sous une mince

couche "classique," comme cela se produit quelquefois à l'époque byzantine. Un exemple me fara mieux comprendre.[15]

Dans une partie récente du *Roman d'Alexandre,* on nous raconte l'aventure d'une fille du conquérant macédonien qui a bu "l'eau d'immortalité": ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ἀθανάτου πηγῆς. Son père est censé lui déclarer (*Pseudo-Callisthène,* II, 41, Müller): Λαβοῦσα τὸν ἱματισμόν σου ἔξελθε ἀπεντεῦθεν. ἰδοὺ γάρ, γέγονας δαίμων ὡς ἀθανατισθεῖσα· ἔσῃ δὲ καλουμένη Νηρεΐς, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ ἀΐδιον σχοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα κατοικήσεις.

Cette explication du mot Νηρεΐς est incompréhensible sous la forme où elle nous est donnée. Car ce n'est naturellement pas Νηρεΐς (avec η!) dont elle rend compte, mais bien la forme vulgaire Νεράϊδα, dans laquelle le conteur a cru retrouver, à la fois νερό, eau (qui a une tout autre étymologie) [16] et ἀΐδιος, éternel. Deux hypothèses sont possibles. Ou bien notre texte est la transcription mécanique ἐπὶ τὸ ἑλληνικώτερον d'un texte primitif en langue vulgaire. Ou bien, hypothèse à la fois plus simple et moins grossière, l'auteur de cette phrase, écrivant en grec classique, *pensait,* comme il arrive, *en* δημοτική. Ce ne serait peut-être pas un exercice dépourvu d'intérêt que de soumettre méthodiquement certains textes littéraires byzantins à un examen de ce genre: souvent, sans doute, on arriverait à entrevoir, en quelque sorte par transparence, à travers le rédaction plus ou moins classique, une δημοτική sous-jacente. Un tel phénomène peut se produire partout où il y a diglossie, et j'ai fait à ce propos la comparaison avec la "diglossie indienne." Dans l'Inde, à partir d'une époque qu'il est difficile de préciser mais qui doit être très reculée (dès le VI[e] siècle avant J. C.?) ont coexisté *le sanscrit* ("ancien-indien") langue sacrée, langue savante (je n'ajoute pas: langue écrite, car elle est loin d'être la seule qu'on écrive, et d'autre part les brahmanes et les *pandits sonts restés* aujourd'hui encore capables de la parler) et *le prâcrit* ("moyen-indien") ou plutôt les prâcrits, langues de l'usage courant, dont certaines élevées déjà à la dignité de langues littéraires. Dans la théâtre classique hindou, les gens du commun parlent prâcrit: le sanscrit est réservé aux dieux et aux rois, aux savants et aux brahmanes. "Sanscritisants" et "prâcritisants" se comprennent d'ailleurs à merveille, et le dialogue n'est nullement ralenti par ce bilinguisme. Sanskrta veut dire "épuré" (cf. καθαρεύουσα) et prakrta

[15] Je reproduis ici, avec quelques remarques nouvelles, la substance d'une *Note* que j'ai publiée dans *Byzantion,* XIV, 1939, p. 686 s.

[16] <νεαρὸν> [ὕδωρ], cf. Thumb, *op. laud.,* p. 94 s.

veut dire "naturel." Sanscrit et prâcrit s'opposent donc, à très peu près, comme καθαρεύουσα et δημοτική. Tous le monuments du sanscrit proprement "classique" sont contemporains du moyen- ou même du nouvel-indien (Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite*, p. 52). Et le *Nirukta* ("Etymologie") de Yâska, ancien commentaire indigène du Véda, nous offre déjà plusieurs tentatives d'explications étymologiques qui supposent la connaissance du moyen-indien. Cas très analogue à celui de notre phrase du Roman d'Alexandre, à ceci près que cette dernière n'émane que d'un demi-savant. Pour trouver un exemple absolument identique, il faudrait chercher chez les grammairiens grecs. Voici peut-être quelque chose de comparable. Tryphon d'Alexandrie, que Suidas fait vivre sous Auguste, prétend que les adverbes en α ont la finale brève (en conséquence, il faudrait écrire ἴδια, δημόσια, et non ἰδίᾳ, δημοσίᾳ). Il est permis de se demander si cette théorie paradoxale, qu'Apollonius Dyscole réfute[17] sans peut-être tout à fait la comprendre, ne trahit pas l'extension prise, dès cette époque, dans le langage parlé, par une formation d'adverbes tirés d'adjectifs au pluriel neutre: formation exceptionnelle en grec ancien,[18] mais de type tout à fait moderne, la seule qui soit encore vivante aujourd'hui pour les adverbes dédivés d'adjectifs.

* * *

En Grèce, comme dans l'Inde, la diglossie commence très tôt. Elle est un fait patent dès avant notre ère. Je n'ai pas à m'étendre sur ce sujet, qui nous est bien connu grâce à la Bible grecque et grâce aux papyrus. Et si l'on veut bien considérer que la diglossie n'est que la forme particulièrement aiguë (résultat d'une longue évolution) d'une situation que connaissent toutes les langues, à partir du moment où elles possèdent une littérature, (car la langue écrite n'est *jamais* identique à la langue parlée) on devra reconnaître à l'helléniste le droit d'étendre même à la littérature classique son enquête à la recherche des vulgarismes. Une telle recherche, toujours aléatoire, risque de s'avérer proprement impossible, cependant, quand nous manquons totalement de documents contemporains sur le grec vivant. Et tel est le cas pour le plus ancien des textes littéraires grecs, l'oeuvre d'Homère.

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[17] Peu familiarisé avec le littérature grammaticale, j'emprunte cette référence à E. Egger, *Apollonius Dyscole. Essai sur l'histoire des théories grammaticales*, Paris, 1854, p. 315.

[18] Cf. Eur., *Iph. Aul.*, 56 *s.*: τῆς τύχης ὅπως / ἄψαιτ' ἄθρανστα (texte douteux: ἄθρανστα est tiré d'Hésychius; les mss. ont ἄριστα).

Or, même pour étudier le "dialecte homérique," le grec moderne vient à point! Henri Grégoire l'a montré, dans une des pages les plus remarquables, peut-être, qu'il ait écrites.[19] Il est parti de la constatation que le grec homérique, seul, emploie transitivement, et au sens de "fabriquer, faire" le verbe κάμνω (gr. mod. κάνω), qui en grec classique signifie "peiner, se fatiguer." Le sens moderne est "faire," qui se tire malaisément de l'acception antique (intransitive) "se fatiguer." Dans les *Poèmes Prodromiques* (XII[e] siècle) κάμνω a le sens de "fabriquer" et pas encore celui de "faire" (I, 97: κάμνω τὸ λινάριν). Il semble qu'il faille admettre que le sens de "fabriquer" a subsisté populairement, après Homère, dans quelque recoin du monde hellénique.

C'est assurément une *performance* peu ordinaire que de retrouver du grec parlé dans l'*Iliade*; et il semble sans doute à plus d'un lecteur qu'il faille considérer le néo-grec, après un aussi beau succès, comme un instrument d'investigation universellement valable pour *toute* la période ancienne de la littérature hellénique.

Sans doute. Mais c'est à condition d'éviter certaines exagérations dont il va falloir que je parle, c'est à condition d'admettre certaines restrictions qu'il me faut maintenant marquer énergiquement.

* * *

Et d'abord, quoi qu'on fasse, la distinction entre *grec ancien* et *grec moderne* reste, bien entendu, justifiée dans toute sa rigueur et sera toujours, en bonne méthode, indispensable. Le patriotisme hellénique, légitimement fier de son passé classique, a quelquefois fermé les yeux sur les changements, malgré tout fondamentaux, que la Grèce a éprouvés depuis Homère et Thucydide, dans sa langue comme dans tout le reste. Il n'y a pas moyen d'échapper à la conclusion que le grec a subi, entre la haute antiquité et la début de l'ère byzantine, une profonde tranformation. Transformation phonétique d'abord: l'orthographe archaïsante a respecté les graphies antiques, mais la prononciation s'est radicalement modifiée. Je sais bien que la prononciation dite "restituée," telle qu'elle est pratiquée, pour le grec ancien, dans nos collèges et universités, n'a aucun succès en Grèce, et cela est jusqu'à un certain point naturel. Mais il faut bien se rendre à l'évidence. Si nous n'avons naturellement pas les moyens de reproduire exactement la prononciation des Anciens, de multiples arguments linguistiques et philologiques,

[19] H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, VIII, 1933, p. 243.

qu'il serait fastidieux de reproduire ici, prouvent du moins que la prononciation érasmienne déforme les textes classiques bien moins gravement que la prononciation byzantine et moderne. Je ne retiendrai ici qu'un seul de ces arguments, pour son amusante évidence. Au V^e siècle avant notre ère, le poète Cratinos (fr. 43 Kock) a reproduit dans une de ses comédies, le bèlement d'un mouton: "le sot, comme un mouton, s'en va disant bè, bè." Ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει. On admettra difficilement que le bèlement des moutons contemporains de Périclès se soit noté phonétiquement: *vî, vî!* Il faut reconnaître, d'ailleurs, cette fois encore pour de multiples raisons, que certains traits de la prononciation moderne se sont installés très tôt dans l'usage. En béotien, οι est confondu avec υ dès le IV^e siècle avant J.C. On trouve déjà dans une épigramme attribuée à Callimaque (*Anth. Col.*, XII, 43, 6) un jeu de mots, impossible dans l'hypothèse d'une prononciation de type érasmien, sur ναιχὶ καλός et ἄλλος ἔχει.

Ce n'est pas seulement la phonétique, bien entendu, qui a changé depuis l'antiquité. Il faut tout de même se garder d'oublier que même la καθαρεύουσα n'est plus du grec ancien. Elle nous a gardé, écrit fort justement Henri Grégoire, "une part immense de l'ancien vocabulaire" mais non "les subtilités d'une syntaxe dont le secret est réservé aux grammairiens et aux philologues."[20] Si l'on veut bien revoir les exemples que nous avons réunis plus haut de ces heureuses corrections ou interprétations de textes anciens que le grec moderne a permises, on constatera que toutes, sans exception, portent sur des questions de vocabulaire, de sémantique. Ce sont *des mots*, avec leur sens inchangé ou à peine modifié, que la langue d'aujourd'hui a hérités de l'antiquité. Pour la morphologie et la syntaxe, on sent bien qu'il s'agit toujours de la même langue, mais les formes n'en sont pas moins devenues souvent méconnaissables, et certains mécanismes entièrement nouveaux ont fait leur apparition. Ceci restreint, évidemment, la portée de tout rapprochement entre un texte *en grec ancien* et un texte *en grec moderne*, surtout dans le cas extrême d'un *texte littéraire classique* opposé à un *texte populaire moderne*. Et même pour le vocabulaire et la sémantique, il faut s'entendre sur la "continuité." M. Grégoire termine son ingénieuse note sur κάμνω par la phrase suivante: "L'exemple de πηγουρός et celui de κάμνω ... attestent un courant linguistique qui va d'Homère à nos jours *sans passer par le grec classique.*" Remarque très importante, qu'on fera bien de méditer. On ne saurait

[20] H. Grégoire, *Charme et utilité du grec moderne*, p. 21.

trop insister, en effet, sur le caractère très artificiel de la *langue littéraire de la période classique:* elle est beaucoup plus artificielle que la langue d'Homère. La prose a plus limpide, la plus innocente en apparence, celle d'un Lysias, qui semble empruntée au parler "naturel" de l'Athénien moyen, cache en réalité une stylisation délicate et très attentive. C'est déjà, à n'en pas douter, de la "langue épurée" et l'on peut même se demander si l'attique de Platon est beaucoup plus artificiel que l'attique de Lucien. Sans doute, on peut classer (plus ou moins arbitrairement, d'ailleurs, faute de véritable terme de comparaison) les auteurs classiques suivant leur éloignement de la langue parlée. Sans doute, en descendant cette "échelle du beau langage," de Platon à Lysias, de Lysias à Aristophane, on se rapprochera de plus en plus du langage oral. Mais le témoignage même d'un Aristophane sur l'attique parlé ne pourra jamais se prendre que *cum grano salis:* ici encore, nous n'atteignons qu'une stylisation, oeuvre d'un homme cultivé, d'un écrivain très personnel, d'un poète. Aristophane, d'ailleurs, ne nous renseignerait jamais, aux mieux, que sur la langue parlée, à Athènes, par les gens d'une instruction supérieure ou moyenne.[21] Nous n'atteignons guère par lui le langage de l'illettré, de l'esclave, ni les parlers provinciaux, dialectaux, dont le rôle n'est pas absolument négligeable dans l'évolution ultérieure. Il y a les inscriptions . . . Mais, surtout en Attique, elles ont subi l'influence de la langue littéraire. Combien parmi elles nous renseignent vraiment sur la *langue non-écrite?* On ne grave pas volontiers sur la pierre éternelle les paroles ailées et triviales du dialecte vernaculaire. Pour le "vulgariste," hors des papyrus, point de salut. Et sans doute éprouverions-nous bien des surprises si nous avions, pour l'Athènes de Périclès, l'équivalent de ce que les papyrus représentent pour l'Egypte des Ptolémées.

Concluons donc qu'il faut nous résigner à voir *la littérature proprement classique,* à la réserve de quelques pages de la comédie ancienne, échapper presque complètement à la méthode comparative du néo-grécisant: car les concessions qu'elle fait à l'usage le plus populaire paraissent trop faibles pour être "dosables." Cela est plus vrai encore, au moins pour le *vocabulaire,* on l'a souvent remarqué, de la prose que de la poésie, et ce n'est pas un hasard si

[21] Sir Gilbert Murray remarque, à propos du Dicéopolis des *Acharniens* (*Aristophanes, A study,* Oxford, 1933, p. 29): "The hero is a typical Aristophanic figure, an Old Farmer, with a name — Dicaiopolis — that means "Honest Citizen," and with an amount of wit and of literary culture that can hardly have been usual among farmers even in Attica."

tant de mots sont notés par les dictionnaires, *à la fois,* comme archaïques, *poétiques, populaires* et post-classiques. C'est ce qu'a d'ailleurs bien vu l'école néo-grecque de M. Hubert Pernot, à laquelle il est grand temps que je rende un juste hommage. Si tôt que M. Pernot fasse commencer le grec moderne, il ne remonte cependant pas plus haut que notre ère. Pour lui, les textes en langue moderne commencent sensiblement avec la Septante et les Evangiles. Le nombre et l'importance des améliorations qu'il a apportées à la compréhension du Nouveau Testament montrent assez que le système de M. Pernot est scientifiquement fécond, du moins quand c'est lui-même qui l'applique. Il y a lieu cependant de se demander si ses vues théoriques ne sont pas un peu trop tranchées, et même si elles ne comportent pas, à côté de leurs avantages, quelque danger pour le chercheur imprudent qui les prendrait à la lettre.

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Dans la leçon d'ouverture (1932) de son cours de "grec post-classique et moderne" (ce titre est déjà tout un programme) M. Pernot, prenant pour texte une page de l'Evangile de S. Marc (XI, 27-33) qu'il traduit "en grec moderne courant," s'attache à montrer qu'on a le droit "d'englober dans la langue néo-hellénique le Nouveau Testament." De son propre aveu, il a pris ce passage dans le plus "vulgarisant des Synoptiques? Commentant sa propre traduction: "c'est, comme vous voyez," écrit-il, "une simple transposition, un peu comme si nous mettions du Montaigne en français d'aujourd'hui." J'avoue que cette comparaison ne me paraît pas tout à fait juste, et que je ne partage pas l'optimisme niveleur de M. Pernot. "La plupart des mots," écrit-il encore, "subsistent, mais modernisés dans leur forme." N'en pourrait-on par dire autant, dans bien des cas, d'un texte en latin vulgaire traduit en français moderne? Je ne comprends pas comment M. Pernot peut écrire que "lorsqu'on a ainsi rajeuni les formes, on retrouve identiquement la même syntaxe." Il suffit de se reporter au texte qu'il a choisi, et à la traduction qu'il en a faite, pour voir combien cela est exagéré. Sans doute la phrase simple peut souvent se calquer en grec moderne, καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα devenant κ' ἔρχονται πάλι στὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. Mais le futur simple ἐρεῖ se rendra nécessairement par la forme composée θὰ πῇ, phénomène qui sort déjà du cadre strict de la morphologie. Et si la phrase se complique, le mot à mot deviendra impossible, certaines tournures ayant disparu: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ = κ' ἐνῶ περπατοῦσε στὸ ἱερό.

En vérité, j'ai bien peut que l'exemple choisi par M. Pernot ne prouve à peu près le contraire de sa thèse. Si le vocabulaire de la

langue parlée a relativement peu changé depuis le Ier siècle de notre ère, il faut avouer que la morphologie et la syntaxe du N. T. sont encore nettement antiques (comparez, p. ex. ἔλεγον αὐτῷ et τοῦ λένε). Et ceci, qui touche à la structure même de la langue, me paraît le plus important. Comment qualifier de *grec moderne* une langue qui a encore un *datif*, un *génitif absolu*, un *infinitif*, un *futur non-périphrasé?* J'admire sincèrement, et en toute humilité, les travaux de M. Pernot. Je ne me range ni parmi les linguistes, ni parmi les néo-grécisants, et je suis bien incapable de donner une définition *scientifique* du grec moderne. Mais il me semble bien, qu'on me pardonne cette opinion de profane, qu'on ne peut parler de néo-grec qu'à partir du moment où le sujet parlant ou écrivant emploie δέν et non plus οὐ pour la négation, et respectivement θὰ et νὰ suivis du subjonctif au lieu du futur et de l'infinitif. Il se peut que je m'illusionne sur la valeur de ces critères très simples. Admettons que les différences entre S. Marc et la langue de nos jours soient des différences de degré et non de nature. Il faudra avouer que ces différences de degré sont énormes, et en pratique on sera tout de même amené à reconnaître que la langue évangélique est beaucoup plus près de la langue de Platon que de celle de Psichari. On mesure tout le chemin parcouru depuis le Ier siècle quand on songe que, toujours dans le passage cité par M. Pernot οὐκ οἴδαμεν se traduit par δὲν ξέρομε. Le *vulgarisme antique* οἴδαμεν pour ἴσμεν, qui choque les lecteurs puristes d'un Xénophon, est lui-même devenu, depuis longtemps, un archaïsme qu'il faut transposer. On se bornera donc à retenir de la comparaison linguistique instituée par M. Pernot, cette constatation modeste que *certaines expressions caractéristiques du parler moderne remontent extrêmement haut* (comme par exemple, toujours dans la même péricope, ἕνα λόγον, "quelque chose"). C'est cela, et pas autre chose, qui explique dans la plupart des cas, l'aide que la philologie néo-grecque a pu apporter à l'explication des textes anciens.

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Ce n'est pas que la question de savoir "à quelle date commence le grec moderne" m'inspire la moindre passion. Les divers phénomènes linguistiques dont la présence simultanée caractérise la langue hellénique moderne sous sa forme nette ne sont naturellement pas nés tous en même temps, et le processus de transformation porte sur une durée de plusieurs siècles. En définitive, cette question n'est pas autre chose qu'un des aspects du problème de *la fin de l'Antiquité*. La date qu'on adoptera pour faire commencer le Moyen Age — ou le grec médiéval, c'est-à-dire moderne, variera

nécessairement avec l'importance relative attribuée aux multiples phénomènes historiques, sociaux, culturels, linguistiques, qui apparaissent, les uns très tôt et les autres très tard, à partir du déclin de l'Empire romain. Le facteur qui jouera le rôle décisif dans une telle détermination sera toujours, quoi qu'on fasse, un facteur subjectif, ou conventionnel. Et c'est avant tout pour des raisons pratiques — dans l'intérêt de l'enseignement ou de la recherche — que telle date devra être préférée à telle autre.

La date très haute à laquelle M. Pernot s'est arrêté présente, d'un point de vue scientifique, ses avantages et ses inconvénients. Il était bon d'attirer l'attention sur l'antiquité relative de certaines façons de parler aujourd'hui vivantes, et l'exégèse du N. T. a certes beaucoup profité de cette constatation. Mais s'il était bon d'attirer l'attention sur ces faits, il est moins bon, peut-être, d'y arrêter son attention trop longtemps; car cela risque de créer, à la longue, l'illusion que les textes plus ou moins vulgarisants du I^er^ siècle de nontre ère, comme les Evangiles, ressortissent exclusivement à la philologie néo-hellénique. On voit tout de suite le danger, et ce danger n'est pas purement théorique. Pallis et P. L. Couchoud, qui ont abondamment corrigé, chacun de son côté, le texte de S. Marc, y ont méconnu des tournures parfaitement classiques.[22] M. Merlier,[23] étudiant, d'après un verset célèbre de Jean,[24] la sémantique du verbe κοιμᾶσθαι, ignore ou néglige le texte ancien le plus exactement parallèle au verset qu'il commente, un texte de Callimaque[25] qui me paraît suffire à ruiner sa thèse.[26] Je ne crois pas

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[22] Pallis, par ex. (*op. laud.*, p. V) corrige *Actes*, 27, 31: εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον, pourtant garanti par les parallèles: Dion Chrys., V, 8 et Salluste, *Jugurtha*, 78, 2. (Cf. *L'Antiquité Classique*, II, 1933, p. 232). Pallis, p. 9, et P. L. Couchoud (*Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 133-138) méconnaissent tous deux la construction quasi-classique ἐποίησεν ... ἵνα ὦσιν = grec class. ποιεῖν + infinitif (cf. *Byzantion*, IX, 1934, p. 451 s.).

[23] O. Merlier, *Notes sur deux passages du Quatrième Evangile*, dans: *Bul. corr. Hell.*, LIV, 1930, p. 228-240.

[24] XI, 71: Λάζαρος, ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν κεκοίμηται· ἀλλὰ πορεύομαι ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω αὐτόν.

[25] Callimaque, *Epigr.*, IX, p. 117; Cohen (= *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 451) v. 2: κοιμᾶται· θνήσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθούς.

[26] La thèse de M. Merlier, en effet, c'est qu'il n'y a dans l'emploi de κοιμᾶσθαι par Jésus ni euphémisme, ni image, ni aucune intention particuliére; ce verbe ayent toujours en "depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours," le double sens de *dormir* et de *mourir*. Le texte de Callimaque prouve précisément qu'un sens de *mourir* c'est un euphémisme. Cf. mon C. R.: *Byzantion*, VII, 1932, p. 693 ss.

qu'on puisse reprocher à M. Pernot une seule inadvertance de ce genre. Néanmoins, ce n'est pas sans inquiétude que je lis, dans sa leçon d'ouverture, des phrases comme celle-ci: "Là où se présente une difficulté dans la traduction strictement littérale, qui est une sorte de décalque, de bons manuscrits en gardent souvent la trace. ... On ne peut bien saisir l'apparat critique du Nouveau Testament qu'en tenant soigneusement compte du grec moderne." Ce n'est pas non plus sans inquiétude que j'ai entendu en 1935 M. Pernot développer, devant un congrès d'historiens des religions, le "programme" d'une édition critique de S. Marc[27] qui aurait pour grand principe d'éliminer du texte reçu *tout ce qui ne cadre pas avec le vulgarisme de Marc,* vulgarisme désormais consacré à l'égal d'un dogme. ...

Il arrive que des disciples de M. Pernot ne nous donnent plus d'ailleurs, que la caricature de ses méthodes. J'ai été amené jadis à porter un jugement très sévère sur la volumineuse thèse que Mademoiselle Sophie Antoniadis a consacrée à S. Luc.[28] Je n'ai rien à reprendre à ce que j'écrivais alors. La dangereuse illusion dont je parlais tout à l'heure s'étale avec candeur dans ce livre. Passe encore de considérer le "vulgariste" Marc comme un "prosateur moderne." Mais Luc, comme l'a vu M. Pernot lui-même, est un écrivain quasi-savant. Et Mlle Antoniadis aussi reconnaît à plusieurs reprises que la structure générale de sa langue est bien celle de la langue classique. Elle le reconnaît, mais sans doute de mauvaise grâce, car ailleurs elle va jusqu'à écrire (p. 121): "Cependant, çà et là perce un trait qui trahit chez notre auteur une connaissance de la syntaxe grecque" (!) En fait, elle-même a abordé l'étude de la grammaire de Luc avec une connaissance très insuffisante de la langue et de la littérature antiques. Aborder l'étude du plus classique des Synoptiques avec comme seul instrument de travail le grec moderne est une gageure impossible. Et il peut paraître assez grave que les idées de M. Pernot, exagérées par des disciples trop zélés, puissent donner une telle audace. ...

* * *

On pourrait donc, après avoir parlé de l'utilité du grec moderne, parler aussi *des dangers du grec moderne pour un philologue classique.* Ces dangers, qu'il me suffise de les avoir signalés. Je n'ai

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[27] Cf. *Sixième Congrès International de l'Histoire des Religions,* (Bruxelles, 1935). *Recueil des Communications,* p. 43.

[28] Sophie Antoniadis, *L'Evangile de Luc. Esquisse de grammaire et de style,* Paris 1930. Cf. mon C.R.; *Byzantion,* VII, 1932, p. 558 ss.

pas à m'appesantir sur ce sujet: une saine méthode, un minimum d'esprit critique garantiront assez le chercheur contre de tels périls. Il m'est beaucoup plus agréable d'envisager, dans la dernière partie de cet article, une autre face de la "question du grec": *l'utilité du grec ancien pour les néo-grécisants*. Elle aussi est incontestable. . . .

L'oeuvre si riche de mon maître me fournit encore, dans ce domaine, un très bel exemple. C'est en partant d'Homère (*Il.*, IX, 124: δώδεκα δ' ἵππους, πηγούς, ἀθλοφόρους) qu'Henri Grégoire (*Byzantion*, VIII, 1933, 241 ss.) explique le très énigmatique πηγουρός de la *Ballade du frère mort:* ποῦν τὰ ξαθά σου τὰ μαλλιά, τὸ πηγουρὸ μουστάκι; Le passage de la ballade, à lui seul déjà, "plaide nettement pour le sens de moustache bien fournie" (p. 243). Et, chez Homère, "le sens de πηγός . . . ne paraît guère douteux. C'est, pour un cheval, "solide," pour une vague, "forte," pour une toison, "forte, épaisse" (p. 242). "Dans ces conditions, on est autorisé à tirer πηγουρός de πηγός, par un intermédiaire πηγηρός. Le changement de suffixe peut s'expliquer par l'nfluence de σγουρός, "frisé" . . . (p. 243)".

Cette explication du mot πηγουρός par l'homérique πηγός attire opportunément notre attention sur le caractère *conservateur* de la langue grecque: caractère que d'autres faits mettent mieux encore en lumière, par exemple, nous l'avons vu, l'expression ὁ μακαρίτης, gardée intacte depuis le V^e^ siècle avant notre ère — au moins. Dans une oeuvre chrétienne, médiévale, comme l'épopée de Digénis Akritas, dont la plus ancienne rédaction ne remonte pas plus haut que le IX^e^ siècle, M. Grégoire a retrouvé, sous une forme à peine altérée, une *prière païenne au Soleil* dont la formule nous est donnée par un papyrus magique.[29] C'est la comparaison avec ce papyrus qui lui a permis de faire à cet endroit une correction dont il a bien raison de dire qu'elle "fournit la clef de tout le passage." Qu'on lise, en effet, comme il l'a proposé, ἐντυγχάνοντες au lieu de l'inintelligible ἐντρυχώνοντες et le parallélisme des deux textes apparaît nettement:

Dig. Akr., Version de l'Escorialensis, v. 90:

Τὸν ἥλιον ἐντυγχάνοντες μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων·
Κὺρ Ἥλιε, τίνα ποιήσωμεν νὰ εὑροῦμεν τὴν ἀδελφήν μας;

[29] H. Grégoire et M. Letocart, Ἐντυχία πρὸς ἥλιον. *L'invocation au Soleil Vengeur dans l'Epopée byzantine*, dans: *Mélanges Radet* (= *Revue des Etudes anciennes*, XLII, 1940), p. 161-164.

Pap. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. 574, 1930, p. 132 Preisendanz:

> Ἐντυχία πρὸς Ἥλιον ἐξαιτήσεως· στὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν λέγε οὕτως· ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε Ἥλιε ...

Cet emploi de ἐντυγχάνω au sens de "supplier, adresser une requête" est remarquable: fréquent dans les papyrus, il est unique dans la littérature byzantine, où, en dehors de notre texte, ce verbe ne signifie que "rencontrer," "causer" ou "lire." Ici le conservatisme grec dépasse le domaine proprement linguistique. Car c'est évidemment grâce à une tradition religieuse, ou plutôt magique, singulièrement vivace que ce sens a survécu jusqu'à l'épopée byzantine, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au X^e^ siècle au moins, à côté de l'emploi archaïque du titre syrien de κύριος = *dominus* donné au Soleil. ...

Cette permanence surprenante d'une superstition attestée par un papyrus du début du IV^e^ siècle après notre ère rappelle l'exemple que je citais en commençant d'un usage auquel Pindare fait allusion et qui s'est encore pratiqué en plein XX^e^ siècle. Pour ce qui concerne l' ἐντυχία πρὸς Ἥλιον, d'ailleurs, j'ai tâché, dans une note qu'a publiée la *Chronique d'Egypte*,[30] de préciser encore les résultats auxquels mon maître s'était arrêté. Or cette enquête m'a convaincu qu'ici encore, nous sommes en présence d'une coutume beaucoup plus ancienne que le papyrus de Paris ne le ferait croire. M. Grégoire, en effet, voyait dans le passage de l'*Escorialensis* une survivance de la croyance antique au Soleil Justicier, vengeur des crimes impunis. Il le rapprochait de toute une série de textes, surtout épigraphiques, récemment rassemblés par G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus*, Uppsala, 1938, p. 24 ss., dans lesquels le Soleil est invoqué comme vengeur des ἄωροι καὶ βιαιοθάνατοι (Ἥλιε ἐκδίκησον ... *Sol, tibi commendo qui manus intulit ei* etc. ...). "Dans l'épisode de Digénis Akritas, le cas est exactement pareil. Il s'agit d'un meurtre dont l'auteur est inconnu" (*Mélanges Radet*, p. 163). Or, précisément, le cas n'est *pas tout à fait* pareil. Il y a une différence nette. Dans aucune des versions de l'épopée byzantin, les cinq frères ne demandent au Soleil de venger leur soeur, *mais leulement de les aider à retrouver son corps:* τίνα ποιήσωμεν νὰ εὑροῦμεν τὴν ἀδελφήν μας; (*Escor.*); δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὴν ἀδελφήν (*Andros*)[31] ... Par là cette prière se distingue des exemples épigra-

[30] *La Prière au Soleil*: Chronique d'Égypte 33, 1942, p. 150 *s.*

[31] *Trébizonde* est comme d'ordinaire d'accord avec *Andros*. Le ms. de Grotta Ferrata "remplace la prière et l'incantation par une prosopopée oratoire assez plate." (H. Grégoire et M. Letocart, *op. laud.*, p. 162).

phiques allégués plus haut. J'avais songé à expliquer cette divergence par une méprise (fort naturelle à une époque où ces rites magiques n'étaient plus très répandus) sur le mot ζητεῖν, fréquent dans les implications au sens de "rechercher (les meurtriers), enquètes." Mais en réalité cette hypothèse n'est pas nécessaire. La prière au Soleil devant les corps mutilés des jeunes filles massacrées semble se rattacher, vu les circonstances, au groupe des incantations vengeresses recueillies par Bjoerck. Mais le rapport est tout extérieur, puisque les frères *ne demandent pas au Soleil de venger le meurtre* (d'ailleurs imaginaire: on retrouvera la jeune fille saine et sauve). Au contraire, le contenu de cette prière la rapproche d'un autre type, d'une antiquité plus vénérable encore, d' ἐντυχία πρὸς ἥλιον. Il s'agit d'une invocation par laquelle le Soleil, qui voit tout, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ (Hom., *Od.*, XI, 109) est invité à aider dans leurs recherches ceux qui se mettent en quête d'une personne disparue. A ma connaissance, ce type de prière est surtout illustré par des textes littéraires latins (mais dont la source est évidemment grecque). Voici par exemple le prière qu'adresse au Soleil Mèdos, parti d'Athènes pour retrouver sa mère, dans le *Medus* de Pacuvius (fr. II [219] Ribbeck):

Te, Sol, invoco, ut mihi potestatem duis
inquirendi mei parentis ...

Et dans les *Fastes* d'Ovide (IV, 581 ss.) c'est le Soleil, imploré par Cérès, qui lui révèle le sort de Perséphone disparue:

... Solem de virgine rapta
consule, qui late facta diurna videt.
Sol aditus: "Quam quaeris, ait, ne nava labores,
nupta Iovis fratri tertia regna tenet ...

Si nous remontons plus haut encore, nous verrons qu'il est fait nettement allusion à cette omniscience du Soleil, qui lui permet de retrouver les disparus, dans le chef-d'oeuvre classique du théâtre attique, l'*Agamemnon* d'Eschyle (v. 632 s. et 674 ss.). Interrogé sur Ménélas, le Héraut de l'armée argienne répond: "Personne n'en a plus de nouvelles certaines, *si ce n'est le Soleil, nourricier de la terre.*"

Οὔτις οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.

Et plus loin: "Du moins, *si un rayon de soleil de trouve* (ἱστορεῖ) *vivant et les yeux ouverts à la lumière ... l'espoir nous reste qu'il rentrera un jour en son palais.*"

εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ
χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα . . .
. . . . . .
ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἥξειν πάλιν.

Dans l'épopée médiévale, la formule de la prière au Soleil a été "christianisée, au moins superficiellement, par l'adjonction de références au Christ et à la Vierge" (Grégoire, *op. laud.*, p. 164). Il n'en reste pas moins que nous avons là, en pleine époque byzantine, un souvenir encore vivant de la divinité du Soleil.[32] Je voudrais attirer l'attention, pour terminer, sur un autre exemple de survivance d'une divinité païenne: exemple plus tardif encore, et plus surprenant, du moins à première vue; car à l'examen, il se révélera vite qu'il s'agit presque uniquement, cette fois, d'une question de langage, et que nous avons affaire à une expression archaïque dont la valeur religieuse est plus apparente que réelle.

Voici un vers qui est dans toutes les mémoires. C'est le premier vers de la cantilène fameuse sur la prise de Constantinople (1453), l'un des chefs-d'oeuvre les plus émouvants de la poésie populaire:[33]

Σημαίνει ὁ θεός, σημαίνει ἡ γῆς, σημαίνουν τὰ ἐπουράνια.
"Le ciel résonne, la terre résonne, les airs résonnent."

Ὁ θεός, dans ce texte, c'est donc *le ciel*. Je ne sais si les néo-grécisants se rendent compte que cet usage est tout à fait classique.[34] Chez Théophraste (*Caract.*, XXV, 2) le passager inquiet qui interroge le pilote sur l'état du ciel lui demande τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ

[32] Sur la ténacité de *l'adoration du Soleil levant* chez les chrétiens, v. un texte curieux du Pape Léon le Grand, *Patrol. lat.*, LIV, 218 c.: *quod nonnulli etiam christiani adeo se religiose facere putant, ut ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam quae uni Deo vivo et vero est dedicata, perveniant superatis gradibus quibus ad suggestum areae superioris ascenditur, converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant et curvatis cervicibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent.*

[33] Reproduite dans: Passow, *Carmina popularia*, no. 195, Politis, Ἐκλογαί, no. 2; Hesseling et Pernot, *Chrestomatie néo-hellénique*, p. 96. Traduite par Pernot, *Anthologie populaire de la Grèce moderne*, p. 45.

[34] Je constate, en effet, que Hesseling et Pernot ont repris ce passage dans la *Glossaire* de leur *Chrestomatie* (p. 206: "θεός, 96, no. 2, v. 1, ciel." or, "on n'a inséré dans ce glossaire que les formes dialectales difficiles et les mots qui ne sont pas dans les dictionnaires courants." (*Ibid.*, p. 199).

θεοῦ; Et nous lisons chez Hérodote (II, 13, 3): εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὗειν ὁ θεός.[35]

Ὁ θεός au sens de *ciel* remplace donc un *nom divin*, celui de Zeus. Ζεὺς ὗει = "il pleut" est une expression familière aux prosateurs attiques aussi bien qu'à Homère ou Alcée. Un contemporain de Périclès, l'auteur d'une Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία égarée parmi les oeuvres de Xénophon, nous dit (II, 6) que "les maladies du blé viennent de Zeus": νόσοι τῶν καρπῶν, αἳ ἐκ Διός εἰσιν. Par "maladies du blé," il entend essentiellement l' ἀφορία, c.à.d. la mauvaise récolte (due généralement à la sécheresse) et sans doute envisage-t-il aussi le cas inverse d'une année trop pluvieuse qui fait pourrir le grain. C'est bien à tort que le meilleur commentateur de ce pamphlet, Kalinka,[36] voit dans ce passage l'indice d'une mentalité superstitiitieuse qui serait doublement surprenante chez un auteur aussi réaliste et dans un contexte qui se borne à examiner froidement, *as a matter of fact*, les causes économiques de la puissance athénienne. En réalité la phrase n'a de "couleur religieuse" (*"religiöse Färbung,"* Kalinka) que dans les mots, comme le montrent clairement des textes tout à fait parallèles. Théophraste (*Caract.*, III, 2) mentionne parmi les propos insignifiants du bavard une remarque banale sur "la pluie et le beau temps" formulée en ces termes: καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλεῖον, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσεσθαι. Et nous avons vu qu'en XXV, 2, τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, pareillement, ne signifie pas autre chose que: "que te semble du temps?" Le Zeus de ces locutions courantes est à peine un dieu. Il est "le ciel, l'atmosphère, le climat," nullement ce Zεύς anthropomorphisé qui est le Père des dieux et des hommes. En vérité, il serait à peine forcé de parler d'un nom commun, ζεύς, διός, *homonyme* de Ζεύς, Διός, le dieu suprême.

La comparaison avec d'autres langues[37] montre bien, en effet, que cet emploi de Ζεύς, tout comme les expressions latines *sub dio*,

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35 Le cas est le même au v. 208 des *Suppl.* d'Euripide, si l'on adopte la restitution de Nauck: πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι, χείματος / προβλήματ', αἰθ<ρ>ον ἐξαμύνασθαι θεοῦ (cf. Ζεὺς αἴθριος). Avec la restitution de Tanaquil Faber: αἰθόν <τ'> ... θεοῦ désigne le Soleil.

36 E. Kalinka, *Die Pseudoxenophontische* Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, *Einleitung, Uebersetzung, Erklaerung* (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher kommentare zu griechischen und roemischen schriftstellern), Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, p. 193.

37 Cf. l'excellente monographie de Grace Sturtevant Hopkins, *Indo-European deiwos and related words*, Yale University Dissertation (Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America, XII), Philadelphia, 1932.

sub diu, sub divo, et même *sub Iove,* ne fait que prolonger l'usage indo-européen d'un mot *dieus,* ancêtre notamment du grec Ζεύς, qui désignait *le ciel* ou *le jour* (latin *dies*). Au grec Ζεύς correspond en sanscrit védique *dyaus* qui "is practically the only word for sky" (Sturtevant-Hopkins, p. 17). *Dyaus* est quelquefois personnifié, mais il n'a pas "pris le caractère d'une personnification vivante ni marqué le culte de son empreinte" (Oldenberg, *La religion du Véda,* traduit par Victor Henry, p. 202). En conclusion, "such phrases as Ζεὺς ὕει ... (et nous pouvons y ajouter les phrases dans lesquelles ὁ θεός remplace Zeus) "show the earlier identity of Zeus with the sky" (Sturtevant-Hopkins, p. 19). Elles représentent une couche linguistique très ancienne, *antérieure à la promotion de Zeus au rang de Dieu suprême anthropomorphisé.*

De telles phrases n'ont donc guère, à l'origine, de contenu religieux. Elles n'ont pas non plus de valeur religieuse dans la prose attique, nous l'avons vu. Quand Théophraste écrit Ζεὺς ὕει, il n'y met pas plus d'intention mythologique que le barde védique, par exemple, n'en mettait dans les mots *dyaur na bhūma,* "ni le ciel ni la terre" (*Rig-Veda,* I, 65, 3). En grec, cependant, il était devenu impossible de ne pas s'apercevoir que *le ciel* de ces expressions stéréotypées portait le même nom que le redoutable maître des dieux. Et voilà sans doute la raison pour laquelle nous trouvons, dès le V^e^ siècle avant notre ère et, traditionnellement, si longtemps après, ὁ θεός substitué à Zeus au sens de *ciel.* C'est là, évidemment, un cas particulier de ce *tabou des noms divins* dont Charles Michel, l'un des premiers, a rassemblé jadis des exemples empruntés aux cultes gréco-romains.[38] Tertullien s'est servi abusivement de cette pratique pour prouver que l' "âme rend témoignage à un dieu unique": *Hinc ergo tibi, Anima, de conscientia suppetit domi ac foris, nullo irridente vel prohibente, praedicare: "deus videt omnia" et: "deo commendo" et: "deus reddet" et: "deus inter nos judicabit." Unde tibi hoc, non christiana? atque adeo plerumque et vitta Cereris redimita et pallio Saturni coccinata et Isidis linteata? In ipsis denique templis deum judicem imploras, sub Aesculapio stans, Junonem in aere exornans, Minervae calceans furvis galeam formis, et neminem de praesentibus diis contestaris....* Il résulte de ce passage," écrivait Paul Lejay,[39] "que dans les cérémonies du culte païen, mais spécialement dans les mystères, le dieu

[38] Ch. Michel, *Note sur un passage de Jamblique,* dans: *Mélanges Louis Havet,* 1909, p. 282 s.

[39] Cité par Ch. Michel, *op. laud.,* p. 282, n. 2.

n'est pas nommé. On disait simplement: *deus*, ὁ θεός. En effet le raisonnement de Tertullien se fonde sur une double série de témoignages, rendus involontairement par l'âme au dieu unique, à celui qui ne s'appelle ni Saturne, ni Jupiter, ni Mars, ni Minerve, mais Dieu simplement. D'une part, *dans la vie courante*, ou, comme dit Tertullien, au forum de l'âme, c'est à Dieu qu'elle en appelle par les formules familières. D'autre part, dans le temple, elle supporte l'affirmation d'un autre dieu que le dieu particulier du temple." Le *tabou du nom divin* est donc nettement attesté par Tertullien, non seulement pour la pratique du culte, mais aussi pour les expressions du langage courant, dont cet auteur a donné des exemples. Ὁ θεός employé pour Zeus peut être ajouté à cette liste. Dans les expressions où Zeus désignait le ciel, ce scrupule a eu un effet quelque peu paradoxal: il a donné à ces phrases *une allure et une valeur religieuses* qu'elles ne comportaient guère primitivement, comme le prouve, nous l'avons dit, la comparaison avec les expressions analogues du latin et du sanscrit. De sorte que l'on pourrait presque dire, en reprenant la formule chère à Max Müller, que ce θεός, ce "dieu des phénomènes atmosphériques" est né d'une *maladie du langage* ... En réalité ὁ θεός, en tant que substitut de Ζεύς = *dyaus*, nous a gardé, jusqu'au XV^e^ siècle au moins, la trace d'une désignation du ciel qui, en grec ancien, pourrait déjà être qualifiée d'archaïque (puisque le mot grec pour ciel est οὐρανός)[40] et qui remonte en tout cas à la primitive communauté indo-européenne. C'est un bel exemple de la *permanence du grec classique*, et de son utilité pour comprendre le néo-grec. ...

J'ose à peine espérer que le lecteur n'aura trouvé la présente étude ni trop longue ni trop ambitieuse. Je me rends compte de ses insuffisances, et je ne me fais pas illusion sur son originalité. Puisse mon bon Maître, Henri Grégoire, à qui cette étude doit tant, à qui moi-même je dois tout, l'accueillir avec indulgence, et la prendre pour ce qu'elle est, mais y voir aussi ce que j'ai voulu y mettre: mon infinie gratitude. Il m'a semblé que je ne pouvais pas mieux la manifester qu'en essayant de vous montrer par quelques exemples la richesse inépuisable de son enseignement et en essayant de formuler l'une des conclusions qui me paraissent s'en dégager. Cette conclusion, selon moi très importante, tient en peu de mots.

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[40] Hypothèse sur l'origine de l'Ouranos grec en tant que Ciel-dieu: G. Dumézil, *Ouranos-Varuna, Etude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*, Paris, 1934, p. 90. G. Sturtevant Hopkins, *op. laud.*, p. 16, note 32, tient οὐρανός et *Varuna* pour des emprunts asianiques.

La distinction classique entre *grec ancien* et *grec moderne* se justifie pleinement, entre autres pour des raisons pratiques qui intéressent à la fois la recherche scientifique et l'enseignement. Les mêmes raisons interdisent de placer trop haut la date conventionnelle qu'on adoptera pour séparer ces deux périodes de l'histoire de la langue. Et il n'y a pas lieu de soustraire les Evangiles au domaine du grec ancien. Mais surtout on se gardera d'oublier que cette classification des textes grecs n'a guère qu'une valeur empirique, et l'on s'efforcera par tous les moyens d'éclairer l'une par l'autre ces deux périodes successives de la vie du grec. Car, si profondes qu'aient pu être les transformations qui du grec ancien ont fait le grec moderne, et si grave que puisse être, aujourd'hui encore, ce divorce entre le langage parlé et le langage écrit qu'on a, assez improprement, appelé *diglossie*, il n'y a cependant qu'*une seule langue grecque*, et sa dualité apparente est avant tout le signe d'une inépuisable richesse et d'une fidélité étonnante à un passé glorieux entre tous. Entre la langue des dieux d'Homère et la langue de Kostis Palamas, il y a une longue et lente évolution; il n'y a pas de solution de continuité. Il n'y a qu'une langue grecque, comme il n'y a qu'un peuple grec, comme il n'y a qu'une nation grecque, la Grèce d'autrefois, d'aujourd'hui, de demain, la Grèce éternelle.

Ἦλθανε χρόνια δίσεχτα, τὰ ὁμηρικὰ τραγούδια
ἄ! σώπασαν· βουβάθηκαν οἱ Πλάτωνες γιὰ πάντα,
καὶ τῶν βουνῶν σου οἱ μέλισσες μακρειὰ σὲ ξένα χείλη
τὸ παραιτοῦν τὸ μέλι τους, καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, ποῦ τώρα
μὲ τὰ συντρίμμια ἀπόμειναν στὴν ἔρημην Ἑλλάδα,
μιλοῦν γλῶσσ' ἀνυπόταχτη, λαχταριστή, θρεμμένη
μὲ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν βουνῶν τὸν πάναγνον ἀέρα
ἀλλὰ γλυκειὰ καὶ γνώριμη στὰ θεϊκὰ ταὐτιά σου,
γιατ' εἶναι γλῶσσα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γλῶσσα τῆς ἀλήθειας.

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ETUDES SUR L'HISTOIRE ADMINISTRATIVE DE BYZANCE

I. LE SENS DES TERMES, ΛΙΤΟΣ, ΠΑΓΑΝΟΣ, ΕΜΠΡΑΤΟΣ, ΜΕΣΟΠΡΑΤΟΣ, ΑΠΡΑΤΟΣ DANS LE KLETOROLOGE DE PHILOTHEE ET DANS CERTAINS CHAPITRES DU LIVRE DES CEREMONIES.

Le *Klètorologe* de Philothée et le *Livre des Cérémonies* parlent de dignitaires qi'ils qualifient des adjectifs: λιτός, παγανός, ἔμπρατος, μεσόπρατος, ἄπρατος. Quel est le sens exact de ces différentes épithètes et quels renseignement nous donnent-elles sur la vie aulique et l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin, au 10e siècle, en particulier?

Λιτός

L'adjectif λιτός signifie: simple. Ansi, χλανίδια λιτά, des tuniques simples,[1] des oriflammes simples, autrement dit, sans ornements,[2] φλάμουλα λιτά. Appliqué à un dignitaire, autrement dit, à un personnage porteur d'un titre à insignes, διὰ βραβείων, l'adjectif λιτὸς indique que le dignitaire en question n'a pas d'autre qualité que celle que lui donne son titre nobiliaire et n'est qu'un simple dignitaire ou personnage titré. Le dignitaire λιτός est donc celui qui n'a aucune fonction et il s'oppose au dignitaire exerçant une fonction quelconque.

La distinction avait son intérêt au point de vue des préséances. A égalité de titre, le dignitaire en fonction avait le pas sur le dignitaire sans fonction.[3] Entre les dignitaires de même titre et sans fonction, λιτοί, l'ordre des préséances était réglé d'après la loi de l'ancienneté, autrement dit, d'après la date de l'obtention du brevet.[4] Le dignitaire sans fonction, qui est nommé à une fonction

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[1] *Cer.*, I, 22, 125.

[2] *Cer. App.*, 499. Cf. *id.*, 470, μανιακᾶτα λιτός (vêtements) à bordure simple, non ornementée; *Cer.*, I, 60, 276, σημεντεῖνον μετὰ πορφυρᾶς λιτῆς bandeau de simple pourpre.

[3] *Cer.*, II, 52, 717, 730, 731.

[4] *Cer.*, II, 52, 729, κατὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ κωδικέλλου αὐτοῦ Cf. *id.*, 730, κατὰ τοὺς κωδικέλλους αὐτῶν et κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς ἐπιδόσεως τοῦ κωδικέλλου.

quelconque, cesse naturellement d'être un dignitaire simple, λιτός, et devient un dignitaire en fonction, ce qui modifie pour lui l'ordre des préséances.

Le *Klètorologe* de Philothée mentionne assez souvent des dignitaires λιτοί. On trouve cités, en effet: les *anthypates-patrices simples*, οἱ ἀνθύπατοι πατρίκιοι λιτοί.[5] Ils n'ont que le titre d'anthypate-patrice, ils doivent céder le pas aux anthypates-patrices fonctionnaires et ils prennent rang d'après la date de leur brevet de nomination.[6] Les *simples patrices*, οἱ λιτοὶ πατρίκιοι, n'ont que leur titre de patrice, ils prennent rang d'après la date de leur brevet; s'ils sont nommés à une fonction publique, ils prennent rang d'après l'ordre hiérarchique de leur fonction et ont la préséance sur les patrices sans fonction.[7] Les *patrices simples d'après leur brevet*, οἱ πατρίκιοι λιτοὶ κατὰ τοὺς κωδικέλλους αὐτῶν, qui n'ont aucune fonction et qui figurent à la suite des patrices fonctionnaires sur une liste parallèle à celle de Philothée,[8] sont vraisemblablement identiques aux précédents. Les *simples primiciers*, οἱ λιτοὶ πριμμικήριοι, qui n'ont que leur titre de primicier, titre nobiliaire, réservé aux eunuques et qui s'opposent aux primiciers exerçant une fonction et aux primiciers portant en outre le titre à insigne de protospathaire.[9] Les *simples protospathaires*, οἱ λιτοὶ πρωτοσπαθάριοι. Dans la répartition des largesses impériales, ils touchaient moins que les protospathaires inscrits au Salon d'Or et au Maglabiat ou exerçant une charge aulique.[10] Les *simples évêques*, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι λιτοί, sont opposés aux *évêques et syncelles*, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ σύγκελλοι.[11]

Ainsi, le dignitaire λιτός s'oppose au dignitaire de même titre mais exerçant une fonction. Parfois le dignitaire λιτός s'oppose à un dignitaire de même titre, mais ayant en plus soit un autre titre nobiliaire supérieur soit quelque distinction honorifique, comme une inscription au Salon d'Or. Le mot λιτός désignait-il aussi non

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5 Le titre d'anthypate n'était conféré qu'à des dignitaires déjà titrés patrices; les deux titres étaient alors liés.

6 *Cer.*, II, 52, 729, 730. Les *anthypates-patrices simples d'après leur brevet* οἱ ἀνθύπατοι-πατρίκιοι λιτοὶ κατὰ τοὺς κωδικέλλους αὐτῶν, cités dans une liste de Beneschevitch (Die byzantinischen Ranglisten. *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* V, 1926, 116) sont très probablement identiques aux *anthypates-patrices simples*.

7 *Cer.*, II, 52, 729, 730.

8 Beneschevitch, *id.*, 118. Liste Ben. I R3, No. 22.

9 *Cer.*, II, 52, 731.

10 *Cer.*, II, 53, 785.

11 V. Beneschevitch, *id.*, 105.

plus un dignitaire sans fonction mais un fonctionnaire non titré? C'est probable, mais le mot ne se trouve pas employé dans ce dernier sens dans le *Klètorologe*.

Παγανός

L'adjectif παγανός a diverses acceptions: il désigne un homme privé par opposition à un fonctionnaire, un civil par opposition à un militaire, un plébéien ou un paysan par opposition à un noble.[12] Chez Anne Comnène, παγανός signifie aussi païen, par opposition à chrétien.[13] Παγανός est très souvent employé adjectivement dans le *Livre des Cérémonies* avec le sens de simple, ordinaire: ἡ παγανὴ κυριακή, dimanche ordinaire par opposition à un dimanche de fête;[14] τὸ ἱππικὸν παγανόν, les courses ordinaires[15] opposées aux courses solennelles dites: τὸ ἱππικὸν προσκυνήσιμον;[16] ἡ προέλευσις παγανή, la procession ordinaire ou habituelle;[17] τὰ παγανὰ χλανίδια, les chlamydes simples par opposition aux πορφυρᾶ διβητήσια, costumes de cérémonie.[18]

Chez les chroniqueurs, παγανός est pris dans le sens d'homme privé, qui n'exerce pas de fonction publique ou qui a été relevé des fonctions qu'il exerçait. Le patrice Bardas, par exemple, fut destitué de son commandement de duc de Chaldée par Jean I Tzimiskès, τῆς ἀρχῆς παγανώσας[19] et rendu à la vie privée. Michel Attaliate[20] nous apprend que Constantin X Doukas rendit leurs dignités à ceux qui en avaient été privés par Isaac I Comnène: πολλοὺς ὅσους παγανοὺς ἐξ ἐντίμων ἀπέδειξε (Isaac) καὶ εἰς τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίας πάλιν ὁ Δούκας ἀνεκαλέσατο. Ce texte semble indiquer qu'Isaac I Comnène avait non seulement destitué mais encore privé de leurs dignités ou titres nobiliaires un grand nombre de hauts person-

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12 Du Cange. *Gloss. med. et inf. graecit.* et *Gloss. med. et infim. Latinit.* s.v.

13 Anne Comn. (Bonn), II, 132, 135, 168, 229.

14 *Cer.*, II, 14, 566. Cf. I, 47, 241.

15 *Cer.*, I, 73, 366. Cf. τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον παγανόν *Cer.*, I, 73, 367.

16 *Cer.*, I, 71, 353. Cf. τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον προσκυνήσιμον *Cer.*, II, 22, 620.

17 *Cer.*, II, 52, 764, 770, 771, 782.

18 *Cer.*, I, 37, 190. Cf. διβητήσιον τὸ παγανόν, divitision simple, sans ornement, *Cer.*, I, 35, 181.

19 Leo Diac., 96.

20 Mich. Attal., 71.

21 Cedr., II, 651 πολλοὺς ἐκεῖνος (Isaac I Comnène) ἀδόξους ἐξ ἀδόξων καὶ ἀτίμους ἐκ τιμίων ἀπέδειξεν. (Voyez l'appel de cette note p. 168).

nages. Cédrène [21] indique nettement cette double déchéance, que le texte de Michel Attaliate signale, d'ailleurs, mais sous une autre forme.

Appliqué à un dignitaire, le terme παγανός indique que ce dernier n'exerce pas de fonction. Le *Klètorologe* en présente plusieurs exemples. Il est ainsi question des patrices simples sans fonction, παγανοὶ χωρὶς ὀφφικίων πατρίκιοι[22] et ailleurs des consuls ou hypates simples du sénat, οἱ ὕπατοι παγανοὶ τῆς συγκλήτου,[23] autrement dit des consuls qui n'ont que le titre sénatorial de consul et qui n'exercent pas de fonction; ils s'opposent aux hypates impériaux, ὕπατοι βασιλικοί[24] qui sont eux des fonctionnaires. La dignité d'hypate était, en effet, une dignité sénatoriale, en ce sens qu'elle était inscrite sur les régistres du sénat.[25] Les ambassadeurs étaient dits aussi παγανοί, lorsqu'ils ne joignaient aucune autre qualité à celle d'ambassadeur. Ils s'opposaient aux ambassadeurs qui exerçaient dans leur pays d'origine des fonctions diverses (χειροτονίαι).

Ainsi, παγανός désignait indifféremment le dignitaire sans fonctions ou le fonctionnaire sans titre.[26] Les deux mots παγανός et λιτός apparaisssent comme entièrement synonymes.

Ἔμπρατος - Μεσόπρατος - Ἄπρατος

Les formes ἔμπρατος, μεσόπρατος, ἄπρατος sont des formes récentes mises pour ἔμπρακτος, μεσόπρακτος, ἄπρακτος.[27] Comme l'a très justement vu Reiske ces mots correspondent à l'ancienne division des fonctionnaires en fonctionnaires actifs ou en activité, vacants ou en disponibilité et honorifiques.[28] Au 4e siècle encore, les fonctionnaires étaient divisés en trois catégories:

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[22] *Cer.*, II, 52, 730.

[23] *Cer.*, II, 52, 736.

[24] *Cer.*, II, 52, 736.

[25] *Cer.*, II, 52, 712.

[26] Cf. *Cer.*, II, 52, 738-739, qui oppose nettement les fonctionnaires titrés aux fonctionnaires παγανοί ou non titrés. Εἰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων τινὲς ἔχοιεν ἀξίας τὰς διὰ βραβείου δεδομένας, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τῇ ἀξίᾳ τοῦ ὁμοτίμου τὸν βαθμὸν προτιμάσθω, εἰ δὲ παγανοὶ πέλοιεν, ἐν μόνοις τοῖς ὀφφικίοις τιμάσθωσαν, κατὰ τὴν ἤδη ἐκτεθεῖσαν τάξιν κλητωρευόμενοι. Cf. Note 74.

[27] De Cer., II, (Reiske), 272. Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v.

[28] Plutôt qu'*honoraire,* qui prête à équivoque. Ce mot désigne, en effet, le fonctionnaire qui a reçu l'honorariat d'une fonction ou d'une charge qu'il *a réellement exercée.*

1°. Les fonctionnaires qui exerçaient la fonction dont ils portaient le titre. On les appelait *in actu,*[29] *in opere,*[30] *in cingulo,*[31] le *cingulum* ou ceinture étant l'insigne de la possession réelle d'une fonction ou d'un titre[32], *administratores*[33] *ordinarii,*[34] *agentes,*[35] *militantes,*[36] ou ἄγεντες,[37] ἐν ἀρχαῖς,[38] ἐν ἀξιώμασι, ὀρδινάριοι,[40] ἐν ἔργῳ ou enfin ἔμπρατοι[41]. Tous ces fonctionnaires étaient en activité.

2°. Les fonctionnaires en disponibilité étaient appelés: *vacantes,*[42] *in cingulo* car les fonctionnaires en disponibilité ont droit au *cingulum* de leur charge[43] au enfin μεσόπρατοι. Ces fonctionnaires étaient dispensés de remplir les devoirs de la fonction dont ils étaient régulièrement titulaires; à l'occasion, ils pouvaient, d' ailleurs, reprendre du service.

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[29] Justinien, *Nov.*, 38, Proem. 3; *Nov.*, 70, titre et *proem. C.J.*, X, 31, 64, 66 *de decur.;* XII, 8, 2, *ut dign. ordo., C. Th.*, VI, 22, 6, *de hon. cod.*

[30] Just. *Nov.*, 30, *proem.*

[31] Just. *Nov.*, 70, *proem.*; *Nov.*, 95, *de adm. praef.*; *Nov.*, 145, I. *C. J.*, XII, 41, 9, *de metatis. C. Th.*, II, 25, I, § 4.

[32] Nic. Chon., 348: ὃς τὴν τῆς ἑταιρείας ζώνην εἶχε ; Eustathe, 381: τὴν τοῦ πρωτοσεβάστου ζώνην φέρων. Le *cingulum* désignait parfois la fonction même: *Nov.*, 81, I: "ut omnis dignitas, ut omne cingulum." Cf. *Nov.*, 70, I, "ad cingulum quod a nobis paene novatum est."

[33] *C. J.*, XII, 8, 2, *ut dign. ordo.*

[34] *Nov.*, 62, 81 et les *Nov.*, 70, 72, 74, 78 adressées à Jean "iterum ex consule ordinario." Cf. *C. J.*, III, 24, 3, *ubi senat.*; X, 31, 66 *de decur.*; XII, 8, 2, *ordinaria dignitas.*

[35] *C. J.*, XII, 16, 1, *de silentiar.*

[36] *C. J.*, IX, 35, 11, *de injur.;* X, 30, 3, *de Decurion.;* XII, 7, 2, *de primiceriis.*

[37] *Cer.*, I, 84, 387.

[38] *De adm. imp.*, 230.

[39] Genes., 65. Cantac., I, 16, 195.

[40] *Chron. Pasc.*, 623: ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων. Theoph. 224 ὑπάτου (Aréobinde) γεγονότος ὀρδιναρίου. Cf. Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s.v.

[41] *Cer.*, II, 51, 721.

[42] *C. J.*, XII, 7, 2; 8, 2. *Nov.*, III, VI, 3, *illustres vacantes, tribuni vacantes. Cod. Th.*, VI, 18, 1, *de comitibus vacantibus.* (an. 412).

[43] *C. J.*, XII, 8, 2. *Theod. Nov.*, II, 25, 1 § 4: *vacantis militiae cingulum.*

3°. Les fonctionnaires "honorifiques" étaient dits: *honorarii,*[44] *codicillarii,*[45] *sine administratione*[46] ou *abs administrationis privilegio,*[47] *sine cingulo,*[48] *citra cingulum,*[49] *sine actu*[50] ou ὀνοράριοι[51] ou enfin ἄπρατοι. Les fonctionnaires "honorifiques" n'exerçaient pas la fonction dont ils n'avaient que le titre nu; ils n'avaient pas droit au *cingulum.* Ils ne participaient qu'aux honneurs réservés à la fonction, mais ils ne jouissaient pas de ses privilèges. C'étaient des fonctionnaires purement fictifs.

Cette triple division des fonctionnaires présentait à la haute époque un intérêt. A ce moment, la fonction seule, tout au moins les fonctions d'une certaine importance, donnait le droit d'entrer dans les cadres de la noblesse. Le fonctionnaire entrait de plein droit dans telle ou telle classe nobiliaire, selon sa fonction. L'empereur ne nommait jamais directement au titre nobiliaire *(perfectissime, clarissime, respectable, illustre)*; il conférait au personnage qu'il voulait honorer une fonction lui donnant accès à l'une des classes de la noblesse. Comme l'empereur ne pouvait multiplier indéfiniment le nombre des fonctionnaires, il plaçait souvent le nouveau fonctionnaire dans la position de disponibilité *(vacantes)* ou il ne lui conférait la fonction qu'à titre purement honorifique *(honorarii).* Le fonctionnaire *vacans* ou *honorarius* n'encombrait pas l'administration de l'état; mais la création de fonctionnaires purement "honorifiques" entraîna de graves abus contre lesquels les empereurs luttèrent en vain.

La répartition de la noblesse en classes tomba peu à peu en désuétude et fut remplaçée par une nouvelle organisation plus savante et plus souple aussi, caractérisée par la création de titres nobiliaires distincts, conférés par la remise d'insignes, διὰ βραβείων. Le titre devint indépendant de la fonction. Le fonctionnaire n'eut plus droit à un titre déterminé selon sa fonction, le titre dut être

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[44] *C. J.*, XII, 1, 18; XII, 8, 2. *C. Th.*, II, 25, 1, § 6. Cf. *honoraria dignitas, C. J.*, X, 31, 47; XII, 8, 2; XII, 41, 9: *honorariae praefecturae. Just. Nov.*, 70: *honorarius titulus. C. J.*, I, 3, 21: *honorariis decorati codicillis. C. Th.*, VI, 22, 7.

[45] *C. Th.*, VI, 22, 2, codicillariae dignitatis.

[46] *C. J.*, III, 24, 3.

[47] *C. Th.*, VI, 22, 7.

[48] *C. J.*, XII, 8, 2. Cf. IX, 35, 11, *sine cingulo constituti.*

[49] *C. J.*, XII, 41, 9. Cf. *Theod. Nov.*, II, 25, 1, § 4.

[50] *C. J.*, XII, 41, 10.

[51] *Cer.*, I, 84, 387.

mérité par des services. Aussi tous les fonctionnaires d'une même catégorie ne portèrent plus le même titre; tel d'entre eux, plus méritant ou plus en faveur, put obtenir un titre supérieur de plusieurs degrés à celui de ses autres collègues. L'empereur conférait directement le titre, au lieu de nommer d'abord le récipiendaire à une fonction donnant droit à ce titre. La collation du titre avait lieu, d' ailleurs, par la remise d'insignes au cours d'une cérémonie.

Le titre nobiliaire n'étant plus étroitement lié à la fonction, l'institution des fonctionnaires *vacantes* ou *honorarii* n'avait plus de raisons d'être et elle disparut naturellement. Ce fut vraisemblablement au cours du 8e siècle que la nouvelle organisation nobiliaire commença à fonctionner. A la fin du 9e siècle, elle était définitivement établie. Le *Klètorologe* de Philothée, composé tout au début du siècle, l'expose dans tous ses détails. A ce moment, les fonctionnaires "honorifiques" ont disparu depuis un certain temps; Philothée fixe bien dans son *Klètorologe* le rang des anciens hauts fonctionnaires, mais il ne fait aucune mention des fonctionnaires "honorifiques." [52] Tous les fonctionnaires exercent les devoirs de leur charge, tout au moins en principe. On ne nomme plus, *honoris causa*, des stratèges, des éparques ou des questeurs.

La division des fonctionnaires en ἔμπρακτοι, μεσόπρακτοι et ἄπρακτοι se trouvant abolie, ces épithètes cessèrent de conserver leur signification propre. Elles ne disparaissent pas, cependant. Après avoir subi une légère altération dans la forme, ces trois mots en subirent une plus profonde dans le fond: leur signification changea. Dans le *Klètorologe* de Philothée et dans les chapitres annexes, ἔμπρατος, μεσόπρατος, ἄπρατος sont complètement détournés de leur signification primitive.[53]

D'après le chapitre 55 du Livre II du *Livre des Cérémonies*,[54] un patrice est dit ἔμπρατος, lorsqu'il exerce une fonction d'ordre militaire; il est dit μεσόπρατος, lorsqu'il exerce une fonction d'ordre civil et ἄπρατος lorsqu'il n'exerce aucune fonction et qu'il a été simplement élevé du protospathariat au patriciat.[55] La taxe à payer par le patrice varie selon les cas. Le patrice ἔμπρατος paie 8 livres d'or, le patrice μεσόπρατος 7 livres, le patrice ἄπρατος 6 livres.

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[52] *Cer.*, II, 52, 732.

[53] *Cer.*, Reiske, *Comm.* 272 le note très justement.

[54] *Cer.*, II, 55, 798.

[55] ἀποσαθάριος est une leçon fautive pour ἀσπαθάριος.

D'après le *Klètorologe,* le patrice, qu'il soit fonctionnaire d'ordre militaire ou d'ordre civil, payait une taxe uniforme de 8 livres; le patrice ἄπρατος versait une taxe de 7 livres.[56] Le chapitre 55 semble un peu postérieur au *Klètorologe.* Il est probable qu'à la suite de réclamations une réduction de taxes dut être accordée aux patrices, fonctionnaires civils ou sans fonction.

Au chapitre 47 du Livre I du *Livre des Cérémonies,*[57] le patrice fonctionnaire d'ordre militaire est dit patrice-stratège, le patrice d'ordre civil, autrement dit, éparque, logothète, questeur, etc., est qualifié d' ἔμπρατος; le patrice sans fonction est appelé ἄπρατος. Le patrice ἔμπρατος du chapitre 47 du Livre I correspond donc au patrice μεσόπρατος du chapitre 55 du Livre II.

Il ne faudrait d'ailleurs pas croire que le mot μεσόπρακτος indique une sorte d'infériorité de l' ordre civil par rapport à l'ordre militaire. Sans doute, dans la hiérarchie des offices, les grands chefs militaires viennent en tête; toutefois l'éparque a la préséance sur divers stratèges; les logothètes et les questeurs sont également placés au-dessus de certains chefs militaires importants.[58] La distinction entre les ἔμπρατοι et les μεσόπρατοι ne semble avoir eu d' intérêt qu'au point de vue des taxes à verser et de l'offrande à faire à l'Église. Le patrice-stratège, en effet, offrait à l'Église un don de 72 nomismata,[59] tandis que le patrice ἔμπρατος ou μεσόπρατος ne versait que 50 nomismata et le patrice ἄπρατος 36 seulement.

La distinction en patrices ἔμπρατοι, μεσόπρατοι et ἄπρατοι n' implique nullement, par ailleurs, qu'il y ait eu diverses classes de patrices. Tous les patrices étaient égaux par le titre, recevaient les mêmes insignes, appartenaient au même ordre de la noblesse et avaient les mêmes honneurs et privilèges. Mais dans l'ordre des patrices, il fallait nécessairement régler la question des préséances et il était naturel qu'un patrice exerçant une magistrature eût le pas sur un patrice sans fonction.

Le chapitre 55 du Livre II a fixé le sens des mots ἔμπρατος, μεσόπρατος et ἄπρατος. C'est donc avec cette signification qu'il faut les prendre.

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[56] *Cer.,* II, 52, 710.

[57] *Cer.,* I, 47, 241.

[58] *Cer.,* II, 52, 728.

[59] *Cer.,* I, 47, 240.

Ἔμπρατος

Le mot ἔμπρατος est employé dans deux chapitres du *Livre des Cérémonies* pour désigner le dignitaire exerçant une fonction. Sans doute, au chapitre 55 du Livre II, il n'est question que des patrices, mais ce qui est exact pour les patrices semble devoir être également exact aussi pour les autres dignitaires.

Au chapitre 53 du Livre II[60] sont mentionnés οἱ ἔμπρατοι κριταί. D'après le traducteur, il s'agirait de juges exerçant en réalité leurs fonctions.[61] Il ne semble pas qu'il existât encore aux 9e-10e siècles des juges "honorifiques," autrement dit, n'exerçant pas leurs fonctions. Basile I avait créé un grand nomble de juges, mais il n'est question que de juges faisant leur métier.[62] Un titre des Basiliques[63] est intitulé: περὶ δικαστῶν ἐμπράκτων, *de judicibus ordinariis*.[64] On sait que les *Basiliques* reproduisent plus d'une fois des lois anciennes. Aux juges en exercice on pouvait, d'ailleurs, opposer les juges simplement délégués ou accidentels.

Le même chapitre 53 parle de la répartition des largesses impériales entre les divers dignitaires ou assimilés. Tous les bénéficiaires sont, en principe, des personnages titrés. Dans le groupe des fonctionnaires administratifs, appartenant à la classe nobiliaire des protospathaires, figurent également les eunuques protospathaires, primiciers ou ostiaires.[65] A la suite de ces derniers sont encore mentionnés καὶ τοὺς ἐμπράτους κριτὰς καὶ μόνον. Les deux mots: καὶ μόνον portent évidemment sur ἐμπράτους. Comme le groupe auquel sont joints les juges ἔμπρατοι ne compte que des personnages titrés, il est assez naturel de penser que les juges en question devaient être eux-mêmes titrés.

D'après le *Klètorologe*, les juges, κριταί, pouvaient être titrés protospathaire, spatharocandidat, spathaire; [66] ils pouvaient aussi avoir d'autres titres inférieurs ou même n'avoir aucun titre. Il est

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[60] *Cer.*, II, 53, 784.

[61] " judices, sed hi functionem exercentes tantum."

[62] Theoph. Cont., 259. Cedr., II, 203-204.

[63] *Basil.*, VII, 1.

[64] Une scholie explique l'expression: ἔμπρακτοι δικασταὶ οἱ ἔχοντες ὀφφίκιον τοῦ δικάζειν.

[65] Les primiciers et les ostiaires comptaient dans la classe des protospathaires et même dans les premiers rangs. Cf. *Cer.*, II, 52, 731.

[66] *Cer.*, II, 52, 732, 733, 735.

vraisemblable qu'en parlant de juges ἔμπρατοι, le chapitre 53 fait allusion aux juges titrés protospathaires et à ceux-là seulement.

Parmi les listes publiées par Beneschevitch, la liste Usp(enski) cite au 182e rang, à la suite des consuls, les τουρμάρχαι ἔμπρατοι τῶν πλοϊμάτων.[67] Dans cette même liste figure un grand nombre de turmarques, placés à des rangs différents, sans raisons apparentes. Au 139e rang, on trouve οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ τουρμάρχαι, au 140e rang οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ ἀποτουρμάρχαι, au 150e οἱ τουρμάρχαι ἄπρατοι. Pourquoi les τουρμάρχαι ἔμπρατοι τῶν πλοϊμάτων n'occupent-ils que le 182e rang, bien qu'ils soient titrés? Peut-être s'agit-il d'une catégorie de turmarques subalternes. La liste d'Uspenski est, d'ailleurs, d'explication bien difficile.

Μεσόπρατος

L'adjectif μεσόπρατος n'est employé qu'au chapitre 55 du *Livre II des Cérémonies*[68] il semble avoir été d'un usage peu courant.

Ἄπρατος

L'adjectif ἄπρατος est employé dans divers chapitres du *Livre des Cérémonies* pour désigner le dignitaire sans fonction.[69] Mais le mot ἄπρατος est souvent employé pour désigner un fonctionnaire sans titre à insignes. Cette acception ressort nettement d'un passage du chapitre 53 du Livre II.[70]

Les nouveaux dignitaires, lors de leur promotion, devaient distribuer aux atriclines des étrennes qui variaient d'importance avec le titre. Un fonctionnaire d'administration, σεκρετικός, honoré d'un titre à insignes, τιμώμενος ἐν ἀξιώμασιν, devait verser, selon le titre obtenu: protospathaire, 8 nomismata, spatharocandidat ou spathaire 6 nomismata, strator, hypate, candidat, mandator, vestitor, silentiaire, 4 nomismata.[71] Le texte ajoute: ἀπράτων δὲ σεκρετικῶν γενομένων, ἀνὰ γ′, "le fonctionnaire d'administration nouvellement promu, s'il n'est pas titré, ne paiera que 3 nomismata." Dans le présent texte, le σεκρετικὸς ἄπρατος est opposé au σεκρετικὸς ἐν ἀξι-

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[67] V. Beneschevitch, *Die Ranglisten* ..., 142.

[68] *Cer.*, II, 52, 710.

[69] *Cer.*, I, 47, 241; II, 52, 710; II, 55, 798.

[70] *Cer.*, II, 52, 789.

[71] C'est sans doute par distraction que le copiste a omis les *apoéparques* car ce titre est mentionné quelques lignes plus haut.

ὡμασιν: le premier n'était pas titré, alors que le second était porteur d'un titre nobiliaire plus ou moins élevé. Dans ce passage, ἄπρατος ne peut avoir le sens de *honorarius* ou "honorifique."

2°. Dans sa longue énumération des dignitaires d'ordre inférieur et des fonctionnaires subalternes qui composent la 4e classe de la hiérarchie sacrée, Philothée emploie souvent le mot ἄπρατος.[72] De très nombreux fonctionnaires civils ou militaires sont qualifiés d' ἄπρατοι. Pour éviter la répétion fastidieuse de ce mot, Philothée le remplace par l'adverbe ὁμοίως, qu'il finit, d'ailleurs par se lasser de répéter. A part quelques exceptions, tous les fonctionnaires énumérés[73] sont des fonctionnaires ἄπρατοι. Le sens de l'adjectif ἄπρατος est donné à la fin de l'énumération:[74] "Parmi tous les fonctionnaires énumérés, ceux qui sont παγανοί (autrement dit, simples fonctionnaires non titrés), ne seront honorés qu'à raison de leur office et prendront rang dans l'ordre indiqué."

Les fonctionnaires dits παγανοί sont incontestablement les fonctionnaires dits ἄπρατοι dans l'énumération. Il s'agit de fonctionnaires non titrés et non de fonctionnaires "honorifiques." Dans l' énumération figurent les ἀσηκρῆται ἄπρατοι,[75] les asècrètis étaient des fonctionnaires civils d'une certaine importance qui pouvaient prétendre à des titres nobiliaires assez élevés: protospathaire, spatharocandidat, spathaire, consul, strator, etc.[76] Aux asècrètis titrés sont opposés les asècrètis ἄπρατοι ou non titrés, ce qui est logique. La même observation vaut pour les autres fonctionnaires.

3°. Dans son *Klètorologe,* Philothée s'efforce de fixer le rang de chacun d'après le titre et la fonction. Il dut tenir compte de la hiérarchie des titres et de la hiérarchie des fonctions et fondre pour ainsi dire ces deux hiérarchies en une seule: la hiérarchie sacrée. Dans les trois premières classes de cette hiérarchie ne figurent que des personnages titrés: simples dignitaires et dignitaires en fonction. Dans ces trois classes, le titre joue un rôle prépondérant et l'emporte sur la fonction. Un simple démarque qui occupe le 57e rang dans la hiérarchie des offices aura la préséance, s'il est titré anthypate-patrice ou patrice, sur un domestique des scholes qui

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[72] *Cer.,* II, 52, 736-738.

[73] *Cer.,* II, 52, 737-738.

[74] *Cer.,* II, 52, 738-739. Cf. Note 26.

[75] *Cer.,* II, 52, 737.

[76] *Cer.,* II, 52, 733, 734, 735, 736. Cf. *Cer.,* I, 47, 237.

occupe le 5e rang dans la hiérarchie des offices, s'il est titré seulement protospathaire. La fonction reprend, d'ailleurs, parfois ses droits, car le stratège des Anatoliques et le domestique des scholes, titrés seulement patrices, figurent dans le groupe supérieur des anthypates-patrices.[77] De même, les stratèges d'Orient et d'Occident figurent dans le groupe des protospathaires, alors même qu'ils n'ont qu'un titre nobiliaire inférieur; il en est de même de l'éparque et du questeur.[78] Dans ces divers cas, l'éclat de la fonction compensait l'infériorité du titre.

Dans la 4e casse sont rangés en bloc les dignitaires inférieurs, autrement dit, ceux qui portent les titres à insignes de *consul, strator, candidat, mandator, vestitor, silentiaire, apoéparque* et *stratèlate*. Ces dignitaires peuvent exercer ou ne pas exercer des fonctions. Parmi les fonctionnaires subalternes, certains étaient titrés, mais beaucoup ne l'étaient pas. A ces derniers il fallait cependant assigner un rang dans la hiérarchie.

Parfois la même fonction comptait un assez grand nombre de titulaires; les domestiques, les drongaires, les comtes et les protonotaires de thèmes étaient nombreux. Fallait-il disséminer ces fonctionnaires de même catégorie, d'après les titres souvent infimes qu'ils pouvaient avoir? Ne convenait-il pas, au contraire, de les grouper en un seul groupe, quitte à donner la préséance aux titulaires titrés sur les titulaires non titrés? C'est à cette dernière solution que semble s'être arrêté le protocole byzantin. On voit, en effet, les domestiques des thèmes d'Orient et d'Occident constituer un groupe unique dans lequel les préséances étaient établies d'après le rang hiérarchique du thème, et d'après les titres que pouvaient avoir les intéressés.[79] Les drongaires non titrés, ἄπρατοι,[80] sont également rangés d'après leurs thèmes et leurs dronges respectifs, dans le même groupe.[81] Ici, d'ailleurs, doit s'appliquer l'observation de Philothée, observation dont la portée est générale. Certains drongaires de thèmes peuvent posséder un titre; dans ce cas, ils auront simplement la préséance sur leurs collègues non titrés.

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[77] *Cer.*, II, 52, 729.

[78] *Cer.*, II, 52, 733.

[79] *Cer.*, II, 52, 737.

[80] L'explication donnée par A. Vogt (*Basile I*, 344) au sujet des drongaires ἄπρατοι ne peut être retenue. Les drongaires n'étant plus en service seraient des ex-drongaires, ἀπὸ δρουγγαρίων.

[81] *Cer.*, II, 52, 737.

4°. La 4e classe était composée, d'après Philothée, de la façon suivante: τετάρτη τάξις, ἡ τῶν ὑπάτων, στρατόρων, κανδιδάτων, μανδατόρων, βεστητόρων, ἀπράτων, ταγματικῶν καὶ θεματικῶν.[82] L'énumération est incomplète; car dans cette 4e classe figurent encore les *silentiaires,* les *apoéparques* et les *stratèlates.* Le *Klètorologe* dit lui-même que les offices se divisaient en trois catégories: εἰς ταγματικούς, l'armée impériale, εἰς θεματικούς, l'armée provinciale, εἰς συγκλητικούς, les fonctionnaires civils.[83] Dans l'énoncé de la 4e classe, Philothée a oublié de signaler les fonctionnaires d'ordre civil, qui cependant figurent dans l'énumération qui suit. Dans ce texte, ἀπράτων doit être pris isolément et désigne les fonctionnaires non titrés qui figurent, en effet, fort nombreux dans l'énumération qui suit.

L'énoncé de Philothée doit donc être traduit ainsi: "La 4e classe comprend les consuls, les strators, les candidats, les mandators, les vestitors (les silentiaires, les apoéparques et les stratèlates) et les fonctionnaires non titrés des tagmes, des thèmes (et d'ordre civil)."

Il est vraisemblable, d'ailleurs, qu'à l'époque ou Philothée rédigea son *Klètorologe,* la plupart des fonctionnaires qu'il énumère dans cette 4e classe n'étaient pas titrés. S'ils portaient un titre, c'était exceptionnel et Philothée ne croit pas devoir tenir compte d'une exception, qu'il se borne à signaler à la fin. La valeur du titre n'était plus que relative. Car, si dans la première catégorie de cette 4e classe, le titre joue encore un rôle important, ensuite c'est la fonction seule qui détermine le rang, le titre ne conférant plus qu'un droit de préséance entre collègues.

Le terme ἄπρατος revient souvent aussi dans la liste Usp(enski) publiée par Beneschevitch.[84] Sa signification ne ressort pas toujours clairement. La liste Usp(enski), qui diffère très sensiblement de la liste de Philothée, est extrêment confuse et d'interprétation délicate. Les titres nobiliaires sont à peine indiqués. Au N° 115 sont cités les *démarques,* sans indication de titres; au N° 145 figurent les spathaires anciens démarques, ἀποδημάρχαι et au N° 151 οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄπρατοι. Il s'agit très vraisemblablement de démarques non titrés. De même, au N° 139 sont cités οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ οἱ τουρμάρχαι, au N° 140 οἱ σπαθάριοι καὶ ἀποτουρμάρχαι et au N° 150 οἱ τουρμάρχαι ἄπρατοι, qui semblent être des tourmarques non titrés.

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[82] *Cer.,* II, 52, 736.

[83] *Cer.,* II, 52, 716.

[84] Beneschevitch, *Die Ranglisten* ..., 140-141.

On en peut dire autant pour les τοποτηρηταὶ τῶν σχολῶν indiqués sous le N° 100, les σπαθάριοι καὶ ἀποτοποτηρηταὶ τῶν σχολῶν au N° 144 et les τοποτηρηταὶ ἄπρατοι au N° 152. Quant aux σπαθάριοι ἄπρατοι au N° 149, il s'agit très probablement de spathaires sans fonction.

Ainsi, dans le *Klètorologe* et les chapitres annexes le mot ἄπρατος désigne soit un dignitaire sans fonction soit un fonctionnaire sans titre. Dans ces deux acceptions, ἄπρατος a pour synonymes παγανός et λιτός.[85]

Chez les chroniqueurs, les termes ἄπρατος et ἔμπρατος peuvent être pris, par contre, dans une acception plus générale. Théophane, par ex.,[86] rapporte que Justinien II, lors de sa restauration, fit tuer les partisans de ses rivaux, sans distinction: τοὺς ἐμπράκτους καὶ ἀπράκτους. Par ἔμπρακτοι, Théophane entend vraisemblablement les dignitaires et les fonctionnaires (οἱ ἐν τέλει, selon l'expression courante) et par ἄπρακτοι, les personnages privés.

II. ΑΞΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΙ

Le mot ἀξιωματικός se rencontre assez fréquemment dans le *Livre des Cérémonies*. Dans son sens large, ἀξιωματικός désigne tous ceux qui portaient un titre aulique ou qui exerçaient un office ou qui le plus souvent étaient à la fois titrés et fonctionnaires.[87] D'une façon générale, οἱ ἀξιωματικοί sont ceux qui sont ἐν ἀξιώμασιν.[88] Lors de la réception de l'empereur par les patrices, les ἀξιωματικοί s'habillent dans le Consistoire.[89] Ils figurent aussi parmi ceux qui reçoivent une gratification des nouveaux patrices.[90] Lors du baptême d'un porphyrogénète, οἱ λοιποὶ ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ συγκλητικοί restent dans la nef, tandis que les magistroi, les anthypates,

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[85] De même, au 158e rang figurent οἱ χαρτουλάριοι τοῦ γενικοῦ et au 203e rang, ὁ ἄπρατος χαρτουλάριος τοῦ γενικοῦ; les premiers devaient porter un titre à insignes et le second ne devait pas être titré. Enfin, les emplois du maglabiat ἄπρατοι (No. 200), les atriclines ἄπρατοι (No. 202), les δευτερεύοντες (τῶν δημάρχων) ἄπρατοι (No. 220) sont des fonctionnaires non titrés.

[86] Theoph. 574.

[87] *Cer.*, II, 52, 743: τοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς ἅπαντας κατὰ τάξιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ ὀφφικίου. Ils sont dits plus haut συγκλητικοὶ et opposés aux Barbares. Cf. *Cer.*, I, 91, 414: ἐάν τις ἀξιωματικός, un personnage titré ou fonctionnaire, et Dölger, *Reg. II.* No. 1301, an. 1124.

[88] *Cer.*, II, 52, 746, 783, 789.

[89] *Cer.*, II, 55, 798.

[90] *Cer.*, II, 55, 798.

les patrices stratèges, les stratarques, les tourmaques, le chef des tagmes, les officiers καὶ ἡ πᾶσα σύγκλητος sont convoqués au grand baptistère.[91] Il s'agit très probablement du sénat-assemblée opposé à l'ordre sénatorial et de certains dignitaires opposés à d'autres de rang inférieur. La *Chronique Pascale* emploie le mot dans le même sens, en parlant de Théodose II créant ses deux beaux-frères ἀξιωματικούς, l'un préfet du prétoire d'Illyrie, l'autre magistros.[92]

Dans un sens plus restreint, ἀξιωματικοὶ τῶν διαφόρων ταγμάτων désignait les soldats ou les chefs des tagmes qui avaient un titre nobiliaire, un grade, une décoration ou un distinction qui les faisaient ranger dans une catégorie à part.[93] De même, les ἀξιωματικοὶ τῶν σχολῶν désignaient des officiers subalternes, vraisemblablement, qui pouvaient être titrés mais pas nécessairement[94] et dont la fonction principale consistait à former l'escorte d'honneur des dignitaires nouvellement promus, d'où peut-être leur nom.[95] Ces ἀξιωματικοὶ τῶν σχολῶν figuraient dans la liste des ἄπρατοι.[96]

Enfin, notons que dans les cérémonies, au X^e^ siècle, les orphelins étaient placés ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν.[97]

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[91] *Cer.*, II, 22, 619-620.

[92] *Chron. Pasc.* 579.

[93] *Cer.*, II, 52, 743.

[94] *Cer.*, II, 52, 716. Cf. 745, 798, 802.

[95] *Cer.*, I, 46, 236; I, 47, 239; I, 48, 250-251. Cf. I, 50, 260.

[96] *Cer.*, II, 52, 738.

[97] *Cer.*, I, 30, 165.

BYZANTINE ΙΝΔΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΣ, FRANKISH *ANDANICUM* "INDIAN STEEL"

There is a mediaeval designation of "steel," *andanicum*, which has, especially because of its appearance in Marco Polo, frequently been discussed by historians of science, but which has escaped almost completely the attention of philologists. This word is of sufficient interest to justify a presentation of the scattered material.

The following are the western records of *andanicum* "steel" and its variants: middle of the 13th c., Huon de Mery, *Le Tournoiement de l'Antechrist*, l. 64: .I. espié, ou ot fer d'*Andaine*, with the variants *andaigne, dengeigne, dardainne;* l. 1538: sa lance, ou ot fer d'*Andaine*, with the variants *dadiegne, engaigne, (fer) dardaine.*[1] Late 13th c., Giacomino da Verona, *De Babilonia civitate infernali*, l. 42: Sovra la cità è fato un celo reondo D'açal e de ferro, d'*andranego* e de bronço.[2] Late 13th c., Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, ch. 35: vene d'acier et d'*ondanique*; ch. 39: fer et acer et *ondanique*; ch. 60: voine d'acer e d'*ondan*[*i*]*que.*[3] Pauthier's text gives the type *andaine*;[4] and the Italian version has, in all three of these passages, *andanico.*[5] [6] First half of the 14th c., in the Franco-Italian epic *Entrée d'Espagne*, by an anonymous writer from Padua, l. 5344: l'eume, qe fu d'un chier *andraine.*[7] Finally, in a Venetian legend: d'*andanico* sono le colonne infernali.[8]

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[1] ed. G. Wimmer in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, LXXVI (Marburg, 1888).

[2] S. Frascino, *Testi italiani antichi* in *Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte*, V (Halle, 1925), 13.

[3] ed. L. B. Benedetto (Firenze, 1928), 27, 32, 47.

[4] Godefroy *s.v.*

[5] Dante Olivieri, *Il Milione* (Bari, 1912), 28, 34, 57.

[6] The Marco Polo word appears also in a Spanish translation of the 14th c., *El Libro de Marco Polo*, ed. H. Knust-R. Stuebe (Leipzig, 1910), 5: azero et *dandam*; and in a German translation, equally of the 14th c., *Der mitteldeutsche Marco Polo*, ed. Horst von Tscharner in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* XL (Berlin, 1935), 8: ysin das do genant ist *anannum*; p. 14: eyn berg, der hot genge des stolis und *anidanici* und lazuris.

[7] ed. A. Thomas in publications of the *Société des anciens textes français* (Paris, 1913), I, 196.

[8] Tommaseo-Bellini *s.v.*

Beside these records found in works of predominantly popular character, there are a few appearing in the rather learned environment of alchemistic literature: the first is found in the Latin translation of the *Koeranides,* made in the middle of the 12th c. by Pascalis Romanus:[9] columna ... *endanica.*[10] The next in this group, of a certain influence on later ones, belongs to a pseudo-Avicenna treatise, the Arabo-Spanish *Liber Abvali Abincine de Anima in Arte Alchimiae,* written by a Spanish Moor not before the end of the 11th c., and translated into Latin, probably in 1235, by an alchemist living in Spain.[11] The passage runs as follows: Ferrum efficitur in sex modis, ferrum de Landelum [i.e. de Andeluz "of Andalusia"], et ferrum de *Aldeua* [i.e. *aldena*], et acetum [i.e. acerum], et ferrum de India, et ferrum grossum: et primum.[12] Thomas of Cantimpré (first half of 13th c.): *andena, alidea.*[13] Vincentius Bellovacensis (first half of 13th c.): *alidena.*[14] Roger Bacon (13th c.): *andena.*[15] Konrad von Megenberg (about 1350): *andena.*[16] Anonymous treatise *De arte metallica,* a work written in Greek at the beginning of the 14th c. for the Greeks of Calabria, but compiled from Latin authors and of Latin rather than Greek character: 19.2 ῥίνισμα σιδήρου ἰνδανικοῦ (with the variants ἰνδωνικοὺ, ἰνδονικοῦ) "ramentum ferri indanici"; 99.4 ἰνδανικόν (variant: ἰνδαῶ-

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[9] *RE s.v.* "Kyraniden," p. 129. A. Mieli, *La Science arabe* (Leiden, 1938), 219.

[10] *Kirani Kiranides et ad eas Rhyakini Koronides* ([Leipzig,] 1638), 7. The Greek original has ὁλόστομος, F. de Mély, *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge,* II (Paris, 1898), 6. Cf. furthermore Th. Reinesius, *Variae Lectiones* (Altenburgi, 1640), 583. *Zosimi Panopolitani de zythorum confectione fragmentum,* ed. D. Chr. Gruner (Solisbaci, 1814), 17, n. 1.

[11] J. Ruska, "Die Alchemie des Avicenna," *Isis* XXI (1934), 23-26. H. E. Stapleton, R. F. Azo, Hidayat Husain, "Chemistry in Irâq and Persia in the tenth century A.D.," *Mem. Asiat. Soc. Bengala,* Calcutta, VIII (1927), 361, n. 4, suggest the early 13th c. as date of origin for the spurious Latin treatise.

[12] Basileae, 1572: Dictio V. Cap. VI. We quote after E. Wiedemann, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften XXV: Ueber Stahl und Eisen bei den muslimischen Völkern," *SB der physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen,* XLIII (1911), 121.

[13] L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* II (New York, 1923), 392. Christoph Ferckel, "Thomas von Chantimpré über die Metalle," *Studien zur Geschichte der Chemie: Festgabe Edmund O. v. Lippmann* (Berlin, 1927), 77.

[14] *Speculum naturale,* VIII, ch. 52 and 54.

[15] ed. Brewer (London, 1859), 383.

[16] *Das buch der natur,* ed. F. Pfeifer (Stuttgart, 1861), 479.

νικοὺ).[17] Alchemical compendium from the years 1464-68, written at or near Bamberg: laminas subtiles *andanici*.[18] Paulus Venetus (15th c.): *andanicum*.[19]

The etymological explanations of *andanicum* and variants center around Sir Henry Yule's attempt: Yule[20] (1903) derived it from Persian *Hundwáníy* "Indian (steel)." Wiener [21] (1912) rejected this hypothesis for semantical reasons and suggested Greek ἄνδηρον as basis. In 1913, Lippmann [22] followed Yule; a few years later, however, in 1919 Lippmann[23] could not decide whether to stick to Yule's theory or to connect the western records with an eastern word *andun* "steel"; in 1931, Lippmann[24] thought of an Arabic basis *hinduwaniy* for the western word. Benoit[25] (1924) separated the *andanicum* family from *landier* "andiron," but did not suggest any etymology. Rommel[26] (1929) followed Yule.

Yule himself saw the greatest weakness of his ingenious etymology: the lack of vitality of Persian *Hundwáníy* "steel." There seem to be, furthermore, semantical difficulties, as already stated by Wiener[27]: the pseudo-Avicenna treatise makes a clear difference between the two kinds of iron, the ferrum de *aldena* (in the text: *Aldeua*) and the ferrum de *India*: ferrum de *Aldeua* est grossum, et non est bonum ad operandum. . . . Ferrum de *India* scindit magis quam aliud ferrum: ideo quia calor magis est in eo quam aliis, et magis scindit quam aliae materies quae se elongant: sed opus habet calefactione, aut ad ignem, aut ad solem.[28] To one who considers the variant *aldena* a member of the *Hundwáníy* group, this clear differentiation between ferrum de *aldena* and ferrum de

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[17] *Anonymi de arte metallica,* ed. C. O. Zuretti in *Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs* VII (Bruxelles, 1930), pp. XXVII, 52-3, 336-7.

[18] *Osiris,* VI (1939), 120, No. 569.

[19] Du Cange *s.v.*

[20] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* 3rd ed. revised by Henri Cordier (London, 1903), I, 93-6. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1903), 972 *s.v.* "Wootz."

[21] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XXXVI (1912), 395-7.

[22] E. O. von Lippmann, "Chemisches bei Marco Polo," *Abhandlungen und Vorträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften,* II (Leipzig, 1913), 266.

[23] *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1919), 614.

[24] *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie,* II (Berlin, 1931), 28 n. 8.

[25] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XLIV (1924), 400-1.

[26] *RE s.v.* "Stahl," col. 2132.

[27] *Art. cit.* (note 21), p. 396.

[28] Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* (note 12).

India appears contradictory indeed;[29] in that case, ferrum de *India* and ferrum de *aldena* should be only two different terms for the same thing. But this distinction is fairly isolated; it is found again, obviously dependent on pseudo-Avicenna, in one passage of Vincentius Bellovacensis: Aliud est ferrum de *alidena* quod est grossum nec bonum ad operandum. . . .Quartum est ferrum de *india* quod scindit magis quam alia.[30] The other records, both learned and popular, show our word with a meaning that might very well be that of "Indian steel." Thus Vincentius Bellovacensis, in a different passage: Est et aliud ferri genus in orientis partibus quod vulgariter *alidena* dicitur incisionibus aptum est, et fusile sicut cuprum vel argentum et ductile non est sicut ferrum aliarum mundi partium.[31] The weapons *espié* and *lance* (in Huon de Mery) and *eume* (in the *Entrée*) are made of *andaine, andraine;* a Greek passage (to be discussed below) mentions the same material together with θαυμάσια ξίφη "wonderful swords"; and the Persian merchants (in a passage to be given later) especially stress the high quality of *andanico*. All this weakens Wiener's objection to Yule.

In the following, a brief sketch of the history of the word is attempted. Indian steel ("wootz") had been known and esteemed since antiquity.[32] During the middle ages it continued to be exported to the West; the material for the famous Damascus swords came from India; the term ἰνδικὸς σίδηρος is frequently mentioned in Byzantine treatises; the Persians played the rôle of mediators: Εὑρέθη (the manufacturing process of Indian steel) ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ ἐξεδόθη Πέρσαις, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.[33] The history of *andanicum* reflects this situation. The Persians must have called the Indian steel simply "Indian," *hindawání, hundawání.*[34] In Persia, it seems, this designation remained in living use up to the end of the 15th century; the Venetian geographer Ramusio (1485-1557), editor of Marco Polo's travel work, relates in his *Dichiaratione di*

[29] Ruska, *art. cit.* (note 11), p. 24 could not identify *Aldeua* in pseudo-Avicenna.

[30] *Speculum naturale,* VIII, ch. 54.

[31] *Speculum naturale,* VIII, ch. 52.

[32] Records in *art. cit.* (note 26).

[33] "Elle a été découverte par les Indiens et exposée par les Perses, et c'est de ceux-ci qu'elle nous est venue." M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs,* III (Paris, 1888), 348 (Texte Grec), 332 (Traduction).

[34] F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London), 1514.

alcuni luoghi ne libri di M. Marco Polo the following:[35] "Del-l'*andanico* di che parla M. Marco nel capitolo 19 del primo libro, quando dice che, nella città de Cobinam doue si fanno i specchi di azzale finissimo, molto belli et grandi vi è assai *Andanico*, è da sapere che hauendone io per mezo di M. Michele Mambre interprete di questa Illustrissima Signoria nella lingua Turca, dimandato molte volte à molti Persiani venuti qui in Venetia, in diuersi tempi con loro mercantie, m'hanno detto tutti in conformità, *Andanico* essere vna sorte di ferro, ouer azzale tanto eccellente et precioso, et stato sempre di tanta stima in tutte quelle parti, che quando vno alli tempi antichi poteua hauere vn specchio, ouero vna spada di *Andanico*, li teneua non piu come vna spada, o come vn specchio, ma come molto cara gioia." The Persian term wandered west: it appears in Arabic as *hinduwânî, hunduwânî*, "Indian steel."[36] The corresponding Arabic terms were *al hindî* ("Indian") and *al Hind* ("India");[37] *al Hind* was taken over by Spanish, where *alfinde* "steel" is found in the 13th century: "Et sea la pierna movible de azero o de *alfinde*."[38] This Spanish record belongs to the same period in which most of the popular *andanicum* records appeared in France and Italy. The Persian word was, furthermore, borrowed by Greek, and it seems that Byzantium became the mediator, in the history of this as in the history of so many other Oriental words, between East and West. The borrowing may have happened around the eighth century, the period of the strongest Persian influence on Byzantine culture.[39] In the collection of Greek alchemists contained in MS. 299 of the Marciana, of the 11th c. (whose contents, however, go in part back to the 7th/10th c.), there appear the words ὁ ἰνδανικὸς σίδηρος . . . καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ξίφη "le fer de l'Inde . . . et

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[35] G. B. Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, II (Venetia, 1559), fo. 14. fd. 2. li. 21.

[36] F. Steingass, *The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary* (London), 1185. Lippmann, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 399 (9th c.). E. Wiedemann, *art. cit.* (note 12), p. 119. Cf. *hinduwânî* "lame indienne; épée indienne" in Henri Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle* in *Publications de l' Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, V (Paris, 1937), 352, 355.

[37] Wiedemann, *art. cit.* (note 12), 119-20. Wiedemann, *SB der physik.-medizin. Sozietät in Erlangen*, XXXVII (1905), 405.

[38] *Libros del saber de astronomía* in *Dic. Hist. de la lengua española*, I [Madrid, 1933], 425. A. Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe* (Madrid, 1932), 270.

[39] M. Stephanides, «Περσικὴ καὶ Βυζαντιακὴ Βιοτεχνία», Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, VI (1929), 282-5.

les épées merveilleuses." Later manuscripts give the variant ἰνδανός (13th, 15th, 16th c.).[40] Another Greek passage belonging to the same type of alchemistic literature and, probably, to the same period, contains a similar phrase: τὸν ἐνδανικὸν σίδηρον καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ξίφη.[41] The Greek word ἰνδανικός is, so far as we can find, the first trace of the Persian *hindawáni* in western cloak: the Persian adjective has become a Greek adjective in -ικός, the most common suffix in later Byzantine Greek.[42] The adjective ἰνδανικός must have become a noun ἰνδανικόν[43] which is exactly the basis of Frankish *andanicum*. The Oriental term came, through Greek mediation, to Western Europe by the usual way that words came in the age of the Crusades: the popular records (with the exception of the first one) all point to Venice as port of entrance. In Italy the ending *-anicum* was clearly preserved; in France it appeared as *-aigne* and *-aine*. Italian and French forms show the development of an inorganic *-r-*: *andranego, andraine*. The Spanish type and the ones based on it, *aldena, alidena, alidea,* are not very clear in their formation; they show influence of the Arabic article; they may even come directly from Arabic *al hinduwânî*. Some of the forms are certainly, some possibly, based on miscopying.

The greatest difficulty in the analysis of the word family under discussion is how it might be related to a word of similar form, identical meaning, wide diffusion, and living use. This word is found in the following languages: Modern Iranian (Ossetic *ändon*); Eastern Caucasian languages (e.g. Ingush *andun*); Uralic languages, Permian group (Syryenian *jemdon,* Votyak *andan*) and Ugric group (Vogul *iemtan*).[44] (To all scholars who discussed this

[40] M. Berthelot, *op. cit.* (note 33), I (Paris, 1887), Texte Grec, p. 38. The *lectio* ἰνδανικός in C. O. Zuretti, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XXX (1929/30), 678. Berthelot gives ἐνδανικός as the *lectio* of the Marciana MS. and ἰνδανικός from a 15th c. MS. His correction ἰνδικός is unjustified.

[41] Reinesius, *loc. cit.* (note 10). Cf. H. Kopp, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie* (Braunschweig, 1869), 216. We can not identify this passage.

[42] S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* in *Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik,* II (Göttingen, 1913), 290.

[43] Psaltes, *op. cit.* (note 42), § 455.

[44] The bibliographical indications are found in H. Sköld, *Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen* in *Lunds Universitets Ars-skrift,* N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 20. Nr. 4 (Lund-Leipzig, 1924), 7-8; and T. E. Uotila, *Zur Geschichte des Konsonantismus in den permischen Sprachen* in *Mémoires de la société finno-ougrienne,* LXV (Helsinki, 1933), 75 and 364-5. Records for the Eastern Caucasian languages in the unreliable book by R. von Erckert, *Die Sprachen des kaukasischen Stammes* (Wien, 1895), I, 132.

term, it seemed a loanword in the single language with which each was dealing.) Sköld[45] states clearly that it should not be separated from *andanicum*. The solution of the phonetical problems, especially of the development of Persian or Arabic initial *h-* in those languages, is up to the specialists; but historically, on the basis of the strong commercial relations,[46] a borrowing of Persian *hundawáni* by the languages mentioned was quite possible.

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[45] *Art. cit.* (note 44), p. 8, n. 1.

[46] Cf. R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, II (Leiden, 1937), ch. 98.

SELEUKOS AND KOMBABOS

In 1705 Louis XIV sent Paul Lucas, the well-known Orientalist and traveller,[1] on his fourth voyage to the Levant, which is the second of those of which he has left a published account.[2] His travels took him from Constantinople through Anatolia to Palestine, thence to Egypt and North Africa and back to Marseilles. At Iconium he met an Armenian priest, who showed him the tomb of Mullak-Onker and very close by that of a Christian bishop. This intimacy, after death, or a Mohammedan dignitary with a prominent member of the Christian clergy, which is certainly strange, stranger even than it would have been during the worthies' lifetime, clearly called for an explanation, and to the French traveller's satisfaction this explanation was not long in forthcoming. At all events, this is what his Armenian cicerone told him.[3]

> At the time of Mullak-Onker there lived a bishop called Epsepi, whom the Mullak appreciated for his learning and sterling character. Now it once happened that the Mullak decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and, in his absence, to entrust his Christian friend with the administration of justice as well as with the affairs of his own household. Realizing full well the peculiar difficulties connected with such a trust, the Bishop was by no means eager to undertake it but yielded at last to the entreaties of his friend. When the Mullak was about to leave, the bishop presented to him a small box, requesting him to put it in safe-keeping until his return.
>
> The bishop then took charge of the government of the city and of the Mullak's house. He enforced the laws strictly and was inaccessible to cajoleries and bribes. Then happened what was sure to happen—human nature being what it is—namely, that he made more enemies than he probably would have made in following an opposite course, and the people of the Mullak's household were the first to conspire against him and to vow his ruin.
>
> No sooner had the Mullak returned than they beset him with all sorts of calumnies of the Bishop, accusing him of the worst infamies, especially of having debauched the fair in-

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[1] On Paul Lucas cf. *Biographie Universelle*, t. XXV (1820), 344.

[2] *Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique* (Paris, 1712).

[3] *Ibid.*, t. I, cap. 20, p. 193 ff.

mates of his friend's seraglio. So long as these accusations came only from the slaves and eunuchs, they had little effect, as the Mullak had few illusions on the veracity of his people; but when the fair charmers themselves joined in the chorus, the Mullak believed them word for word and ordered the good Bishop to be beheaded *sans plus*.

As the poor man was being dragged to the place of execution, he asked the Mullak to give him back the box he had entrusted to him for safe-keeping at his departure. The Mullak had it fetched and opened it at the Bishop's request and in his presence. What was his amazement when he found inside the privy parts of a man. The Bishop then convinced him *ad oculos* that they were his own, then, turning to the executioners, cried out, "Now lead me to my death, which I have well deserved for harboring the illusion that it was possible to find a true friend."

Filled with repentance and shame, the Mullak asked him a thousand pardons and vowed him eternal friendship. He also offered to put the slanderers to a miserable death; but the Bishop himself asked that he pardon them. He and the Mullak remained friends for the rest of their lives. Not wanting to be separated from the Bishop even in death, the Mullak ordered that, should he die first, the Bishop's tomb should be placed near his own. And this was done as a matter of course.

Paul Lucas was not the first traveller whom the ciceroni amused with a story of this type. Nearly 1600 years previously other ciceroni, attached to the great shrine of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, in Northern Syria, had regaled a far more famous traveller, none other than Lucian of Samosata, with much the same tale, as may be seen from the following outline:[4]

Queen Stratonice, wife of Seleukos Nikator (312-280 B.C.), in a vision saw Hera (i.e. the Syrian goddess) exhorting her to rear a temple to her at Hierapolis. After some hesitation and delays—the goddess has to repeat the vision and strike Stratonice with illness to obtain the reaction desired—Seleukos undertook to build the temple and despatched her to the site to supervise the operations. For this purpose he summoned one of her friends, a certain Kombabos, a young man of handsome presence, and requested him to accompany the Queen. Kombabos, aware of the risk involved in the mission, vainly begged his royal master to be spared the assignment. The King remaining unmoved, Kombabos prayed that as an alternative a respite of seven days might be granted to him. He used this time to unman himself, placed the severed parts

[4] Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, cc. 19 ff., ed. Clemen, pp. 38 ff.; cf. *R.-E.*, XXI, col. 1132 ff.

in a little vessel together with myrrh, honey, and spices of various sorts. He sealed the vessel up with a ring and, having recovered from the self-inflicted wound, made his way to the King, to give him the vessel in safe-keeping. The King, not knowing its contents, was pleased to receive it and, having sealed it with a second seal, entrusted it to his treasurer.

Kombabos started out on his journey with the Queen. Shortly after, the event came to pass which he had feared all along: Stratonice fell deeply in love with him and after some hesitations and with a good deal of misgiving proposed to him.[5] Then he revealed to her what he had done. Meanwhile the King was kept informed of the Queen's doings by his spies, and he summoned Kombabos back to his royal residence. Believing him guilty of illicit intercourse with his wife, he forthwith threw him into prison. Then he had him brought into his presence, accusing him in open court of adultery, breach of faith, and sacrilege (inasmuch as the seduction was supposed to have been carried out within the holy precincts). It was finally agreed that Kombabos was guilty and should be put to death.

So far the accused had disdained to defend himself; now he spoke up and demanded back his pledge. On its being produced, he removed the seals and displayed the contents of the vessel, relating his story. At this Seleukos cried out in amazement, embraced his faithful servant, overwhelmed him with gifts, and granted him the privilege of approaching his royal master at all times and unannounced. The wicked informers were duly executed and Kombabos despatched to Hierapolis a second time to finish the building of the sanctuary.

Lucian's account, which enjoyed considerable popularity in the Italian Renaissance,[6] is the only variant of the tale bequeathed to us by Graeco-Roman antiquity. It conclusively shows that it was current in Syria at the time of the Antonines; but the question may well be asked whether it was just a local legend closely connected

[5] This is a commonplace motive in Eastern story and drama; cf. Ibn Batutah, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, I (1893), 279; H. Reich, *Der Mimus*, I (Berlin, 1903), 652 ff.

[6] It was translated into Italian and incorporated in Luigi Contarino's *Vago e dilettevole giardino* (1586); cf. L. Di Francia, *Novellistica*, II (1925), 187. It was imitated by Anton Francesco Doni, *Novelle*, No. 48 (ed. G. Petraglione, Bergamo, 1907), 98 ff. The Portuguese poet Camoes, about 1549, wrote an *Auto del Rei Seleuco* which, because of its reflections on the *mores* of the late King Manuel, contributed to the poet's disgrace and to his banishment. Cf. Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Studies in Portuguese Literature* (Oxford, 1914), 123; K. v. Reinhardstoettner, *Portugiesische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1904), 93.

with the shrine of the Dea Syria, or whether it may be supposed to have had a wider currency in the Middle East. Before trying to answer this question, let us give a few data on the historicity of the leading characters of the tale.

Stratonice was the second wife of King Seleukos Nikator, a daughter of the famous Demetrios Poliorketes and younger sister of King Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon. She was born in 318-17 B.C. and married Seleukos in 300 B.C. Of a first marriage King Seleukos had a son named Antiochos, who became his father's successor under the name of Antiochos I. In 293 B.C. Seleukos ceded Stratonice to his son, who is related to have fallen hopelessly in love with his young stepmother,[7] though according to another (and rather late) source the marriage of Antiochos and Stratonice is not supposed to have taken place before Seleukos' death.[8] At all events, the facts related in our story must have occurred, if they are at all historical, prior to this marriage.

What rather shatters our faith in the historicity of the story is the fact that it has a number of non-Greek variants which, while agreeing with it in all essential features, yet show so many and such important divergences as to make the theory of an imitation fairly improbable.

> King Ardesir, founder of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 226-240), unwittingly married a descendant of the Askanians, his mortal enemies, whom he had vowed to extirpate. Learning the truth and not wishing to put the girl to death himself, he decided to hand her over to his chief steward to have him perform the deed from which he himself recoiled. As she was about to be slain, the girl informed the official that she was with child. Having ascertained the truth of her statement, he had her confined in a subterraneous part of his mansion. Then he unmanned himself, enclosed the severed parts in a box, which he sealed and handed to Ardesir with the request that it be placed in the King's treasury.
>
> In due time the prisoner gave birth to a son, whose horoscope clearly indicated that he would some day be king. So the chief steward named him *Sapor*, i.e. "king's son," and as he grew up had him taught in all kingly pursuits. One day he overheard the King express his sorrow at being childless, and he seized this opportunity to inform him of the truth.

[7] J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Gotha, 1877-78), II (1), 292 f.; U. v. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (Berlin, 1924), I, 15, n. 1.

[8] Julian, *Misop.*, 348.

> At the same time he referred his master to the sealed box he had given him ten years previously. In the box the King found not only the proofs of the steward's self-sacrifice but also a detailed written account of what had happened: the sacrifice had been a simple means of precaution to preclude all possibility of calumny. Ardesir recognized his son out of a large number of boys of the same age and appointed him his heir and successor.[9]

Such is the account of the chronicler Tabarî who, though an Arab and writing after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, is known to have drawn on Pehlevi sources. The great poet Firdousi tells much the same tale, though with a number of noteworthy variants.[10] The heroine is a daughter of Ardewan, the last of the Arsacid kings, whom Ardesir had dethroned. A surviving son of the late monarch induces his sister to poison her husband, but the plot fails, and Ardesir requests his *mobed* to put her to death. On her way to the gallows, she informs the minister that she is with child, and the *mobed* transmits this intelligence to his master. Ardesir, however, disbelieving the woman's story, curtly tells him to hang her forthwith.

None the less, the loyal *mobed* does not carry out this cruel order but keeps her a prisoner in his palace. Then, reflecting that he has many enemies, he adopts the same procedure as in the three previous accounts.

In due time the little Sapor is born and brought up by the loyal *mobed* for seven years, at the end of which he reveals the secret to the King as in Tabarî's story. Ardesir recognizes his son out of a large number of boys of the same age and overwhelms the loyal minister with riches and honors.[11]

In spite of these variants, it is clear that the two accounts are derived from a common archetype, some Pehlevi text composed shortly after the death of Ardesir and presumably in honor of his son Sapor I (A.D. 240-261). It is equally clear that this archetype cannot be derived from Lucian's version, which is silent about

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[9] Tabarî, *Chronique*, trad. H. Zotenberg, II, 76 ff.; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabarî* (Leyden, 1879), 27.

[10] Trad. Mohl, V, 266 ff.

[11] The popularity of this story may be gauged from the fact that it was translated into Malay; cf. Kokhari de Djohôre, *Makôta Radja-Radja* ou *La Couronne des Rois*, trad. Aristide Marre (Paris, 1878), 216 et suiv.

the queen's pregnancy, her persecution by her husband, the loyal minister's successful endeavor to save her life and that of his royal master's only son. These features are however vital for the interest of the tale.

Furthermore, in Lucian's account the journey of Stratonice to Hierapolis in the company of Kombabos is wholly unmotivated and the self-sacrifice of the hero seems therefore frivolous. In the Persian stories, on the other hand, the faithful minister saves the royal dynasty and by his self-sacrifice obviously precludes any aspersion which might subsequently be cast on the legitimacy of Sapor's birth. This sacrifice is therefore not vain but serves a high and noble purpose. Lucian's version is distinguished by a rather obtrusive aetiological element: time and again the tale is used to explain certain peculiarities of the Hierapolitan cult. Thus the memory of Queen Stratonice's fruitless passion for Kombabos is said to be still reflected in the passion of the *hierodulai* of the sanctuary for the *galli* or eunuch priests.[12] Again we are told that the most intimate friends of Kombabos, in token of their sympathy, castrated themselves and became the first *galli* of the temple.[13] The whole episode must then be considered as an off-shoot of an older narrative current in the Middle East, of which the Persian variants are more faithful representatives than Lucian's account.

This conclusion is confirmed by the occurrence of our story in Chinese Turkestan, where a variant, written down in the Aryan language known as Tokharian B, was discovered in 1906. It reads as follows:[14]

> Once upon a time a king of the country, desirous of making a pilgrimage to the holy shrines of Buddhism, requested, his younger half-brother on his mother's side to take charge, in his absence, of the affairs of the state and of the royal harem. On receiving this order, his brother forthwith unmanned himself to avert all suspicion, placed the severed parts in a box, which he sealed and took to the king, who handed it to his treasurer for safe-keeping. On the return of the monarch from his pilgrimage, some slanderers promptly denounced his brother of having debauched the king's wives

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[12] Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, c. 22; cf. A. D. Nock, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, XXIII (1925), 25-33.

[13] Lucian, *op. cit.*, c. 26. On the purely aetiological features of the tale cf. Clemen, *op. cit.*, 39.

[14] Sylvain Lévy, *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, II, 358 et suiv.

and concubines. Carried away by anger, the monarch was about to have a cruel punishment inflicted upon the innocent man. Then the latter asked him to open the box he had entrusted to him. The king naturally stood amazed and was then told the story. Deeply moved by this mark of devotion, he became attached to him even more than before and permitted him (which, true enough, was now no great mark of trust) free access to the women's apartments.

It will appear at once that this version, hailing from Central Asia, stands closer to the text of Paul Lucas than any of the others: in both one of two close friends goes on a pilgrimage, while the other is to take charge of the affairs of state and of the absentee's harem. In both *the precautionary measure taken and the dénouement are the same.*

The Tokharian story dates from the latter part of the seventh century of the Christian era.[15] It must thus have reached Central Asia in the latter part of the Sassanid period and been current in the Middle East at least from the time of the Antonines (the date of Lucian's treatise) down to the end of the Sassanid dynasty. The more recent Persian variants do not throw additional light on the matter, since they are derived from Tabarî[16] or from Firdousi,[17] a fact natural enough in view of the wide popularity and diffusion of both works throughout the Persian Middle Ages which, as is well known, lasted well into the eighteenth century.

There is, lastly, an Indian variant of our times, localized in Bengal. It is attached to the Taj-Bowree, a Mussulman monument in the now destroyed city of Bejapoor. The Taj-Bowree is not far from Maitras Kujoos but nearer to the Mecca Gate. The Bowree is a superb tank, or well, nearly 100 yards square and fifty feet deep, and is surrounded by a colonnade and gallery; the entrance to the Bowree is through a grand arch, on either side of which is a wing for the accommodation of travellers. The descent to the water is by a considerable flight of steps. It was built by Mulik Scindal, a voluntary eunuch, in Sultan Mahomed's reign. The tradition of its origin is as follows:[18]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 360.

[16] This is true, for example, of the version found in Ah'med el Ibchîhi's *Kitab el Mostatref*, reproduced in French translation by René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes* (Paris, 1926-27), II, 174 ff.

[17] This is true for Mirkhond, *Histoire des rois de Perse, de la dynastie des Sassanides*, trad. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1793), 283.

[18] C. Coleman, *Mythology of the Hindus* (London, 1832), 10.

> Sultan Mahomed had a taste for beautiful females. So he once decided to despatch Mulik, his intimate friend, to Sungul-deep for a Padmee. Mulik, realizing the dangerous and delicate character of the assignment, resolved to make every sacrifice rather than lose the king's favor. So he begged for a month's respite to make the necessary preparations. In the mean time he deprived himself of his virility, sealed the attributes of it in a casket, which he lodged in the Sultan's treasury, and then set out on his journey. In due time he returned with the lady but, suspicions having been infused into the king's mind by Mulik's enemies, that he had anticipated the king with his fair charge, Mahomed Shah, in the usual style of Eastern despots, ordered his head to be instantly struck off. "Oh King," exclaimed Mulik, "order restitution of my deposit in your treasury ere the fatal blow is struck" The casket was accordingly brought and opened, and to the monarch's astonished eyes appeared the proofs of Mulik's incapacity and his consequent innocence. Horror-struck at his injustice, he commanded Mulik to ask a boon, which should be granted to him even were it the whole kingdom. The Mulik observed, as he could have no posterity, that he merely wished to raise some work which by its untility might do that which was denied him in a natural way, namely hand down his name to future generations. The king supplied the money, and so the Taj-Bowree perpetuates Mulik's wish.

Commenting on this story, Felix Liebrecht,[19] convinced of the Indian provenance of *all* Western tales, saw in this story a relatively recent version derived from an older Sanskrit text, which is also the source of Lucian's account. Such a theory is of course wholly inadmissible: a story migration in an easterly direction is at least as possible as a migration in the opposite sense, and the *Mulik* of the Indian variant is obviously the same as the *Mullak* of the Anatolian account, except that their rôles are reversed.

Let us now turn once more to the chronogically oldest variant, Lucian's text which, while it cannot claim to be the archetype, at least offers one important clue: the name of the faithful minister, *Kombabos*. The name recurs in a gloss of Hesychios: Κύβηβος· ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν ὀρέων. Κύβηβος is thus the masculine form of Κυβήβη, another namer of *Kybele*, the mother of the gods. As such it is not an individual name but designates the *galli* or eunuch priests attached to the service of the goddess. As for the forms Κύβηβος (Κύβαβος) and *Kombabos*, it should be noted that an epenthetic *m* frequently appears in front of *b*. Thus the French

[19] *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperalia* (Hannover, 1856), 216 f.

samedi goes back to a form *sambatos* for *sabbatos;* cf. also Thrac. Μεσαμβρίη, Σηλυβρία, Σηλυμβρία, Παλτυμβρία, Iber. *Cosimbri* for **Cosibri, Conimbri* (mod. *Coimbra*), etc.[20] Kombabos was then generally known as the eunuch companion and lower of the great Eastern mother-goddess.

The objection may be raised that Queen Stratonice is not a mythological figure but an historical personage, as is (though we do not know her name) the mother of King Sapor I. We should then be dealing with an arbitrary transfer of mythological data to historical personages.

That such transfers formed a current device of ancient Oriental historiography was the discovery of Hugo Winckler and his school. Winckler in particular pointed out that Stratonice, a Hellenistic queen though she was, in the eyes of the Syrian court historiographers was promptly assimilated to the great mother-goddess, with the result that myths forming part and parcel of the Kybele tradition were "transferred" to her.[21] Quite true, the Kybele cult was not the official religion of the Sassanid Empire; but the capital of that Empire was located in Mesopotamia, which also was its most important province from the cultural and economic point of view; but in Mesopotamia (as also in Egypt) this identification of the monarch with the divinity had been known from of old. Thus King Sargon I of Agade, the founder of a new dynasty (abuot 2800 B.C.), in an inscription states that he was the son of a *quedesha* or temple prostitute, that he was exposed in a chest and given over to the current of the Euphrates, that he was rescued by a water-carrier and brought up by him, that he then became a gardener and as such won the love of Istar.[22] The king thus appeared as the son and the lover of the great mother-goddess.

In Luqsor the birth of Amenophis is represented, and we are given to understand that the god Amon assumed the shape of the king's putative father, Thutmos IV, and cohabited with the queen.

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[20] Cf. W. Schulze, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift,* XXXIII (1895), 368, 376 ff.; Schwyzer, *ibid.,* LXI (1933-34), 228 ff.; LXII (1934-35), 1 ff.; Clemen, 39. I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague, Prof. Julian Bonfante, for several of these references.

[21] H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Geschichtsauffassung* [*Ex Oriente Lux,* II (2)], 53.

[22] A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testamente im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1930), 400 f.

Their son was Amenophis.[23] Of the rulers who founded a new dynasty it was supposed that they were illegitimate sons of some god who had seduced their mothers.[24] A number of Egyptian kings, Thutmos III, Thutmos IV, Amen-meses, and Ptolemy X Soter I, indentifying themselves with Horus, state that they had spent their childhood in the swamps of the Delta.[25]

As for Sapor I, let us note that the throne of the Sassanids was as a rule filled under the law of primogeniture. That Sapor was the first-born son of Ardesir could not be subject to doubt. The divine element could then come in only on his mother's side, and that is why this anonymous mother was identified with the great mother-goddess, of whom Kybele and the Dea Syria are two of the best known forms. This identification in turn attracted the tale of Kombabos, the eunuch priest and platonic lover of the goddess.

At all events, the five versions of the tale reviewed (we count the Persian texts as forming ony one version) may be divided into two groups, to wit: (1) the "religious" group, i.e. the one whose sacred origin is still more or less visible (Lucian and the Persian accounts), and (2) the "lay" group, in which the religious element has completely disappeared and the tale become a simple *novella* (the Anatolian, Tokharian, and Indian texts). There can be little doubt which of the two groups is the older and original one: religious stories become quite commonly "laicized" when the religious data are no longer understood or the cult or religious institution to which they are attached disappears — and the myths of the divine origin of the monarch as well as the institution of the eunuch priests of the great mother-goddess naturally fell into abeyance with the advent of Christianity and Islam.

The opposite, however, namely that a "lay" story should suddenly be filled with a religious element, is virtually unknown: the myth is a *genre* older than the *novella*. This simple statement of fact would leave no doubt about the country of origin of our story: it is the region where the institution of eunuch priests and the divine kingship flourished from of old, that is, the ancient Near and Middle East. It is thence that the tale must have migrated to Central Asia and India.

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[23] A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen* (Leipzig, 1890), 268.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*, 558.

How did this diffusion come about? In three texts we find the story attached to some monument, whether it be the two joint tombs of Iconium, the temple of the Dea Syria at Hierapolis, or the Taj-Bowree of Bejapoor. This is as much as to say that it is essentially a tale of ciceroni, told and propagated by ciceroni for the benefit of sight-seers. That this class of tourist-guides plays a major part in story diffusion is not yet fully realized by students of folk-lore, witness a fairly recent book the conclusions of which would have been wholly different, had the industrious author had an inkling of this important fact.[26]

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[26] Cf. *Speculum, X* (1935), 111-16.

THREE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ASSISES DE JERUSALEM

In this paper I shall endeavor to discuss briefly three questions concerning the *Assises de Jérusalem* and the feudalism of the Latin Kingdom. First, dealing with the problem of the "ideal feudalism" portrayed in the *Assises*, I shall try to answer some criticisms and to prove that those critics of the "ideal feudalism" have either misunderstood the competence of the *Assises* and the nature of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, or have adopted a definition of "ideal feudalism" quite different from that implied when the *Assises* are described as ideal.

As to the second, I shall discuss the old problem of the *Lettres du Sépulcre* and add what I hope may be some confirmatory evidence to the proof already established by Grandclaude that the *Lettres* did exist. Third, dealing with the relation of the *Assises* to other law-books I shall advance an hypothesis for which I have as yet no proof whatever, but which appeals to me as eminently reasonable, and shall pose a question. In this section I do not claim to have proven anything but rather to throw doubt on some existent theories and to suggest a counter-hypothesis. It is my hope some day to be able to prove this but much research still remains to be done.

All of the subjects herein discussed are extremely controversial. On the first two I feel that matters have progressed far enough for us to feel that some conclusions can be reached, on the third the whole question is still purely in the realm of hypothesis.

IDEAL FEUDALISM IN JERUSALEM

That the feudalism embodied in the *Assises de Jérusalem* most closely approximated the ideal of feudalism is a doctrine that has been staunchly maintained by a number of writers and as vigorously attacked by others. C. L. Kingsford, Gaston Dodu, A. J. Carlyle and myself have insisted on the perfection of the Outremer

feudalism[1] while such authorities as George Burton Adams and Carl Stephenson have denied it.[2]

In part Professor Stephenson's criticism comes from a misunderstanding of the competence of the *Assises* which he seems to think applied to the whole Kingdom (including Antioch, Tripoli and Edessa) instead of to the Kingdom in its more restricted sense.[3] Had Professor Stephenson studied more carefully the *Assises* themselves or even my *Feudal Monarchy,* he would have seen that the feudalism of the *Assises* was the feudalism of one of those states created during the course of the "rather haphazard occupation," that the laws of the *Assises* were never meant to apply to Antioch, Tripoli or Edessa but were the laws of the Principality (called "Kingdom") of Jerusalem.[4]

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[1] C. L. Kingsford, *Cambridge Medieval History,* V, chap. 8 (London and New York, 1926); G. Dodu, *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques dans le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894); A. J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West,* III (London, 1928); J. L. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

[2] G. B. Adams, *Origin of the English Constitution* (New Haven, 1920), where he maintains that the ideal feudal state was found in England. C. Stephenson, *Mediaeval Feudalism* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1942), "The Origin and Significance of Feudalism," *American Historical Review,* XLVI (1941), 788-812.

[3] *Am. His. Rev.* XLVI (1941), 812 and note 90. Stephenson claims that neither France nor Germany were really states "and the kingdom described in the Assizes of Jerusalem seems to have been equally theoretical." "It will be readily understood that, in this respect, I agree with Mitteis (pp. 534 ff.) rather than with J. L. LaMonte (87 f., 243 f.). The principalities established by the crusaders were, in my opinion, the true Latin states of Syria, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was at most an afterthought."

In his *Mediaeval Feudalism,* pp. 95-96, Stephenson elaborates this point of view. "The Kingdom of Jerusalem has often been hailed as the ideal feudal state — one consciously erected according to pure feudal theory and one in which the royal power was therefore reduced to a minimum. In reality, however, that Kingdom was at most an afterthought. The original states of the crusaders were those created by the various leaders in the course of a rather haphazard occupation of the Syrian coast. . . . In other words the Kingdom of Jerusalem was weak because it was intended to be so not because the crusaders were enamoured of feudal abstraction. . . ."

[4] This point is I think clearly brought out in my chapter on the relations of the kings of Jerusalem with the princes of Antioch etc., chapter 9 of my *Feudal Monarchy,* a chapter which begins with the quotation from Ernoul, "La Tiere de Triple ne d'Antioce n'est mie dou royaume." On p. 188 I state clearly "The *Assises de Jérusalem* . . . contain only the laws of the Princi-

Thus I cannot take very seriously Stephenson's denial of the ideal character of the laws of the *Assises* on the grounds that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was "at most an afterthought." The Principality of Jerusalem which was called the Kingdom, although it was itself a part of the larger Kingdom, was one of the original states; the *Assises* apply only to its organization, and I *do* think that they present a picture of as nearly an ideal feudal state as the world has ever seen. This raises the objection of Professor G. B. Adams, who finds the ideal feudal state in England. And here we come to a question of definition. What do we mean by the ideal feudal state? Once the definition is established I find that I am no longer at variance with Adams. For he defines the ideal feudal state as the best state which was created under feudal conditions, and there can be little doubt but that the Anglo-Norman kingdom was that. But as I define ideal feudalism it is the state which is the most wholly feudal and in which the fewest non-feudal elements are perceptible: the best state *entirely* within the feudal nexus. This I believe is found in Jerusalem.

The laws of the High Court of Jerusalem were wholly unaffected by Roman Law; the High Court of Jerusalem remained throughout a feudal court and never developed any of that breakdown in function or personnel which marked the *Curia Regis* in England; the chancery of Jerusalem was always of the simplest sort; there was no centralization of authority in the king's hands, no justices in eyre, no coroners, no germs of parliament or estates. The monarchy of Jerusalem was decentralized and weak because it was meant to be so, because its founders were accustomed to feudal government at home and transplanted the familiar feudal institutions to their new country. I do not claim that its founders were "enamoured of a feudal abstraction" but I do claim that they were familiar only with feudal institutions and that they organized their new states as best they could on the principles that they knew and understood.

The laws established in Jerusalem were not the laws of France or Normandy, Burgundy or Champagne. But they were feudal laws based on the feudal principles of the feudal states of Europe at a time when those states were most completely feudal. They represent as it were a *ius gentium* of the feudal peoples, general prin-

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pality of Jerusalem. Yet this is itself an eloquent fact, for it shows that the countries were not under the laws of Jerusalem, and that the essential unit in the governmenttal organization was not the kingdom but the country."

ciples of feudalism which were common to feudal states. There were of course local variations and local applications but in principle the *Assises de Jérusalem* reflect western feudalism before it had been affected by the new ideas of centralized monarchy, Roman law, etc.; and they preserved that character after the states on which they had been based had been transformed into less purely feudal organisms.

THE LETTRES DU SÉPULCRE

According to the local tradition in the Kingdom of Jerusalem as stated definitely by Philip de Novare and Jean d'Ibelin in the Thirteenth Century,[5] the laws of Jerusalem were first drawn up under Duke Godfrey by a commission of representatives of the various groups of crusaders, each of whom stated the principles of the law of his homeland. The results of the work of this commission were drawn up in a series of laws each of which was written down on parchment and deposited under lock and key in a casket in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whence they were known as the *Lettres du Sépulcre*. This was done at the same time that Godfrey instituted the courts for the barons and the burgesses. The laws were consulted on occasion and additions were made thereto during the first period of the Kingdom, but when Saladin captured Perusalem the *Lettres* were lost. "Et tout ce fu perdu quant Saladin prist Jérusalem," said Novare; Ibelin echoed this statement.[6] The existence of some early laws, established at the time of the founding of the Kingdom, is further attested by the statement of Hugh de Brienne,[7] while William of Tyre[8] mentions at least one law established by Godfrey in 1100.

But the silence of William, who normally interested himself so considerably on matters constitutional, in regard to any establishment of a code under Godfrey, coupled with the difficulties of explaining away the disappearance of the code has caused considerable doubt to develop that there ever were any *Lettres du Sépulcre,* or if there were, that they were any sort of code of law.

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[5] *Livre de forme de plait,* par Philippe de Novare xlvii, 521-23; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin,* i-iv, 21-27 (in Beugnot, *Les Assises de Jérusalem, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois* (Paris, 1841-43), I.

[6] Novare, xlvii, 522; Ibelin, cclxxiii, 429.

[7] "Document relatif à la successibilité au trône," *Assises,* II, 404.

[8] William of Tyre (*R.H.C.Occ.* I) IX, xix, 394.

For the conquest of Jerusalem was not any violent assault but a siege, and the Christians when they surrendered were permitted to take with them whatever objects of value they desired. It has been argued that had the *Lettres* been a code of laws, they would certainly not have been left behind when there was every facility to remove them to safety.

While Count Beugnot, who edited the *Assises* in 1841-43, accepted the existence of the *Lettres* as a code, as had most of the historians who preceded him, scepticism had already been expressed, and soon it became the accepted theory to deny their existence. This started with Wilken, and was followed up by Sybel, Kugler, Prutz and others.[9] C. Sathas and H. Prutz hit upon the theory that the *Lettres* were not a code of laws at all but a *Livre des Fiefs* of the Kingdom which showed the various fiefs and the holders thereof.[10]

In this country the authority of Dana C. Munro was thrown in on the side of the sceptics, Munro stating in his *Kingdom of the Crusaders*:[11] "As a matter of fact there is no truth whatever in the tale. No such collection was drawn up under Godfrey's direction, there was no viscount of Jerusalem during his lifetime and there is no record of the consultation of any such code."

It is only fair to Munro to point out that while his book was not published until 1935, it was a posthumous publication of a work which he had finished in 1923, so that he probably did not have the opportunity to avail himself of the researches of Maurice Grandclaude, whose brilliant *Etude Critique sur les Livres des Assises de Jérusalem* came out in that year.

The work of Grandclaude completely revolutionized our understanding of the *Assises;* he was able to fix precisely the dates of the various texts which are included in the *Assises* and he subjected them to a meticulous and critical scrutiny such as they had never had previously. Since the publication of the *Etude Critique* and the supplementary articles which Grandclaude devoted to the study of

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[9] A complete discussion of the problem up to the time he wrote is given by Gaston Dodu, *Histoire des Institutions monarchiques dans le Royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894), 36-52 and especially 41, note 2.

[10] P. Paris in *Journal des Savants* 1841, p. 291; C. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeci Medii Aevi,* VI; H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), 218-19, and see Dodu, *op. cit.,* 48.

[11] D. C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders* (New York, 1935), 79-80.

the *Assises*[12] it has become impossible, I believe, to doubt the existence of a set of laws dating from before 1187 and known as the *Lettres du Sépulcre.*

Grandclaude points out in the *Etude Critique* that the problem of the *Lettres du Sépulcre* has been needlessly complicated by the confusion of two distinct problems: Did Godfrey have compiled a set of laws for the new Kingdom? and, Was there a set of laws existent before 1187 known as the *Lettres du Sépulcre?*

In the *Etude Critique,* Grandclaude wrote: "Ce que fut l'oeuvre législative de Godefroy je l'ignore. Mais je crois à l'existence des lettres du Saint-Sépulcre. Sur ce point le témoignage de Philippe de Novare me paraît irrécusable. . . . Contester de pareils témoignages, c'est aller contre toutes les règles de la critique historique."[13]

By 1929, in his "Liste d'Assises," Grandclaude had developed the matter further and was able to come to more definite conclusions. He proved that some twenty-five "assises" can be certainly dated from the period before 1187, of which six are attributed to the earliest foundation of the Kingdom and presumably to Godfrey. He concludes, in this article, that: "Il serait, en effet, bien audacieux d'affirmer que Godefroy de Bouillon a fait oeuvre législative, mais il y a de sérieuses raisons pour considérer la chose comme possible, même comme probable. . . . Nous pouvons dès maintenant le constater, l'activité législative a été extrêmement considérable dans le premier royaume de Jérusalem. Les juristes du XIII[e] siècle n'ont peut-être pas exagéré en disant que la plus grande partie du droit hiérosolymite était contenue dans les 'Lettres du Saint-Sépulcre."[14]

The thirteenth-century jurists all agree that these early laws were lost during Saladin's conquests, and that they themselves wrote on the basis of oral tradition, having heard the laws from men who had been familiar with the older texts. Yet one text that was preserved in the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* certainly comes from

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[12] "Caractère du 'Livre au Roie' " and "Classement sommaire des Manuscrits des Principaux Livres des Assises de Jérusalem" both in the *Revue Historique de Droit français et Etranger* (1926), 308-314, 418-475; "Liste d' Assises remontant au Premier Royaume de Jérusalem 1099-1187" *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 329-345. [Ignorance of this last article caused me to fall into some serious errors in my *Feudal Monarchy.*]

[13] *Etude Critique,* 102.

[14] "Liste d'Assisses," 332, 345.

the period of the First Kingdom, and may have some interest in connection with the *Lettres*.

At the end of Ibelin's treatise on the laws are included several chapters which list those fiefs holding "court et coins et justice," the military liabilities of the major fiefs, and the military obligations in knights and sergeants of the bishops, abbeys and cities of the Kingdom.[15] The names of individual fief-holders are given, and it is quite possible to determine the date of the list from an examination of the names mentioned therein; I have been able to prove that the list of fiefs comes from the end of the reign of Baldwin IV in the years between 1180 and 1185. I believe that more thorough study of the names included in the list would permit this span to be reduced even further so that the list could be dated to within a year or two. However for the purpose of this article the important thing is that we have here clear evidence that *there did remain documentary materials from the period before 1187.*

As this list of fiefs is found in all the principal manuscripts of Ibelin's treatise, it may be presumed that it formed a part of the original text and was employed by Ibelin in preparing his work. If this presumption is correct and we may assume that Ibelin had before him a list of fiefs dating from approximately 1180-85, Ibelin's emphatic assertion that he did not possess the text of the *Lettres du Sépulcre* but wrote only from oral tradition thereof would refute the possibility that this was a revision of an earlier *Livre des Fiefs* which went by the name of the *Lettres*. While I am willing to admit the contention of Prutz and others that there may have been such a list drawn up at the foundation of the Kingdom, I do not think that the existence of such a list dating from 1180-85 can be used to prove the creation of such a list in 1100, although there is a possibility that the list as given in Ibelin was an incomplete revision of an arlier list. It would be very satisfying if we could cite Ibelin's statement that he did not have the *Lettres* coupled with his use of the *Livre des Fiefs* to prove conclusively that the *Livre* was not the *Lettres:* unfortunately we cannot be so definite as there is the possibility that the list of fiefs was not part of Ibelin's original work but a later interpolation. In this case we must fall back on the fact that the list was preserved and the *Lettres* were lost to prove our point. The existence of the list of fiefs in the thirteenth century is proven as it was either used by Ibelin or added to his book by some

[15] Ibelin, cclxx-cclxxii, 420-427.

later compiler. Certainly had the *Lettres* been extant Ibelin and Novare would not have written from oral tradition but would have availed themselves of the older texts. Thus the very existence of this twelfth century document seems to me to strengthen the argument that the *Lettres* were lost and that they were a body of legislation and usages.

It has not been possible so far, I admit, to answer the question why the laws were lost when Jerusalem fell (especially since the list of fiefs, which had little or no value after the loss of the land, was preserved), or to explain the silence of William of Tyre and all the other contemporary chroniclers in regard to the early legislation. But arguments from silence are always weak, and as William admittedly took his material on Godfrey from Albert of Aix and Fulcher, he was not writing from first hand information on that period and may well have omitted things that would have loomed much larger had they occurred during his own lifetime.

The problem of the *Lettres* therefore seems to me to be fairly conclusively settled. There were a number of laws which came from the First Kingdom, some of which came from very near the period of the conquest. They were not a fully developed constitution or formal code of laws, neither were they a *Domesday Book* or any similar *Livre des Fiefs*. They were a series of laws written down to cover the immediate needs of the young community, and they were amended and added to as the occasion arose. It would seem exceedingly strange if a certain number of laws had not been instituted when a state was in process of formation; common sense would dictate that the crusaders must have drawn up some laws for their new state. With the evidence that can be produced as to the existence of the early laws, and considering the largely negative character of the arguments to the contrary, it seems to me that we should be willing to accept the very positive statements of the thirteenth-century jurists.

THE ASSISES DE JÉRUSALEM AND DE ROMANIE

The text of the *Assises de Romanie* begins with a series of prologues which relate: 1) how the laws of Jerusalem were drawn up by Godfrey (this is copied from Ibelin verbatim); 2) how the Emperor Baldwin sent to Jerusalem for these laws, received them and applied them in the Empire; and 3) how the laws were extended to the Morea at a conference at Larissa between Emperor Robert

and Geoffrey de Villehardouin.[16] The *Chronique de Morée* tells the same tale.[17]

While the historical details of the story are inaccurate, it seems quite reasonable to believe, as Buchon first pointed out and as Recoura and Longnon agree, that the meeting referred to was the conference between Geoffrey and the Emperor Henry at Ravennika in 1209.[18]

Recoura, however, is not willing to concede that Geoffrey there accepted any laws from his new suzerain. As he considers that there was no written code of laws for the Empire, and no written laws for the Morea before the fourteenth century, he finds it wholly impossible that Geoffrey could have accepted any laws at this time.[19] I have already pointed out in my review of the *Assises* my objections to Recoura's arguments.[20] It seems to me that there was probably an Old French set of laws in existence in Morea in the thirteenth century, probably before 1276, and that the present code as we know it was compiled from this older original sometime shortly after 1311. Internal evidence in the *Assises* themselves, notably article 143 which provides for appeals to the emperor, would indicate that the laws were drawn up before 1261; and there is a letter of Innocent III of 1210 which complains that the princes of the Morea have forced the clergy to submit to "consuetudinibus ac institutionibus quasi illic ipsi *noviter* creavere."[21]

If we can concede the existence of a system of laws in Morea before 1210, the conference at Ravennika seems an excellent place for them to have been acquired, and this in turn tends to our accepting them as having been a code for the Empire.

It would be manifestly ridiculous to claim that the *Assises de Romanie* were based on the *Assises de Jérusalem* as we now have them, for both Ibelin and Novare wrote in the latter part of the

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[16] *Les Asisses de Romanie,* edited by George Recoura (Paris, 1930), 146-153. All references to the *Assises* and to Recoura are to this edition and its introduction.

[17] *La Chronique de Morée,* edited by Jean Longnon (Paris, 1911), 65-66.

[18] J. A. Buchon, *Voyage dans la Grèce continentale* (Paris, 1840), 99; Recoura, *op. cit.,* 28; Longnon, *op. cit.,* 65.

[19] Recoura, *op. cit.,* 19-43.

[20] *Speculum,* VII (1932), 289-294.

[21] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CCXVI, col. 338. For a more detailed exposition of my position on the matter see my review of Recoura in *Speculum* cited above.

thirteenth century. But I see no reason to question the statement in the *Chronique* and in the prologue of the *Assises* that laws were brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople, if we accept, as I do, the existence of the *Lettres du Sépulcre*. Recoura objects that the spirits of the *Assises* differ, but he is comparing the *Assises de Romanie* with the books of Ibelin and Novare. I can find nothing in the Moreote code which conflicts with what we know of the older laws of Jerusalem, before the spirit of the *Assise d'Amaury sur la Ligece* changed the relationship of lord and vassal in Jerusalem. As I suggested previously, could not Raoul de Tabarie, who was recognized as the most learned jurist in Jerusalem, have brought at least the principles of the old *Lettres* with him when he fled from Jerusalem to Constantinople after his quarrel with Aymeri de Lusignan? Aymeri had asked Raoul to write down the ancient law in Jerusalem and he had refused. Might he not have done in his new country what he refused to accommodate his rival by doing in his old one? And might not the laws of the *Romanie* perhaps reflect Raoul's own opposition to the attempted centralization of the Jerusalemite kings? I do not wish to press this point for it is extremely tenuous and can never be more than wondering conjecture. But I do think that there is enough probability that the laws could have been brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople to prohibit the total discarding of the later legend that they had been.

One method of proof can, I hope, ultimately be applied to the question. The *Assises d'Antioche*[22] were drawn up under Bohemond IV about 1200. While the laws for the *cour des bourgeois* show a marked influence of the Norman procedure,[23] the laws of the High Court are fundamentally similar to those of both Jerusalem and Constantinople. It is difficult to compare a short statement of simple laws like the *Antioche* or the *Romanie* with an elaborate treatise like Ibelin; I have made some slight progress in this direction but not enough yet to announce any results. However, from what little I have been able to adduce I am inclined to believe that it may eventually be shown that the laws of the three countries have enough similarities for us to be able to argue—though never

[22] *Les Assises d'Antioche,* Armenian text edited with French translation by L. Alishan, Venice, 1876.

[23] Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Epoque des Croisades* (Paris, 1940). Cahen stresses the fact that the organization and laws of Antioch were not the same as Jerusalem in many points.

I fear to prove—a common origin in some older lost collection of twelfth century laws,—those laws which I sincerely believe to have been existent in Jerusalem under the name of the *Lettres du Sépulcre*. But this is all conjecture; I wish merely to raise the problem here.

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TRANSLATIONS OF WORKS OF GALEN FROM THE GREEK BY NICCOLO DA REGGIO (c. 1308-1345)

No adequate catalogue of the translations of works of Galen made directly from the Greek in the first half of the fourteenth century by Niccolò da Reggio in Calabria has hitherto been presented. The monograph of Lo Parco[1] is faulty and incomplete in this respect, as I shall show. Further material is found in Diels' account of the manuscripts of ancient medical works[2] and in my catalogue of incipits,[3] although neither was primarily or directly concerned with Niccolò's translations. The object of the present paper is to combine the information supplied by these three sources in one orderly arrangement and to supplement it by new matter derived from the manuscripts themselves, catalogues of manuscripts, and the early printed editions.

Constantine Africanus in the eleventh century had initiated the translation of works of Galen from the Arabic. Gerard of Cremona had continued it in the twelfth century, and others, like Mark of Toledo and Grumerus of Piacenza, or in the thirteenth century Armengaud Blasius[4] and Arnald of Villanova, had supplemented his labors. There had also been translation directly from the Greek: in the twelth century by Burgundio of Pisa, in the thirteenth by William of Moerbeke, Stephen of Messina, and Peter of Abano.[5]

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[1] Francesco Lo Parco, "Niccolô da Reggio Antesignano del Risorgimento dell' antichità ellenica nel secolo XIV da Codice delle Bibliotheche italiane e straniere e da documenti e stampe rare," Memoria letta alla R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli. Estratto dagli *Atti R. Accademia Arch. Lett. Bell. Arti,* Nuova Serie, II (1910), 243-317, Napoli, 1913. Henceforth cited as Lo Parco.

[2] H. Diels, "Die Handschriften der Antiken Aerzte. I. Teil, Hippokrates und Galenos," *Abhandlungen der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1905, Abh. iii, 58-158. Henceforth cited as Diels.

[3] Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (1937). Henceforth cited as Tk. Supplements in *Speculum* XIV (1939), 93-105; XVII (1942), 342-366.

[4] Theodor Trotz, *Yconomica Galieni translata ab Armengando Blazii de arabico in latinum in Monte Pessulano,* continet iiii capitula, Diss. (Dresden, 1921).

[5] Lynn Thorndike, "Translations of Works of Galen from the Greek by Peter of Abano," *Isis* XXXIII (1942), 649-653.

Niccolò da Reggio in the fourteenth century seems occasionally to have duplicated their work,[6] probably unwittingly. But for the most part he either completed previous partial translations, thereby showing that he was aware of their existence, or rendered from the Greek Galenic treatises for which there had not been even a translation from the Arabic. Obviously these were usually neither the best known nor the most important writings of Galen, or they would have been translated into Latin sooner. A few may not be authentic; others are quite brief. But altogether there more than fifty of them extant, and translating them occupied Niccolò, at least off and on, from 1308 or earlier to 1345 or later.

The former date is suggested by the fact that Niccolò's translations of *De flebotomia* and *De utilitate respirationis* were dedicated to Robert of Naples before he ascended the throne in May, 1309, while he was still "the first-born of the King of Sicily, Vicar General of Sicily, and Duke of Calabria."[7] Also, in November, 1308, and March, 1309, payments were made to Niccolò for his translations from the Greek of medical works for Charles II of Anjou, King of Sicily.[8] He received further grants from King Robert in August, 1309, and December, 1310,[9] and in 1314 or earlier completed Burgundio of Pisa's translation of Galen's commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates.[10] In 1317 Niccolò translated the full seventeen books *De utilitate particularum* for Master Jacobus Pipinus of Brindisi, physician to Philip, Prince of Taranto. The previous translation from the Arabic extended only to the tenth book and was defective in other respects. Another grant from King Robert to Niccolò of May 7, 1322, is recorded,[11] but his next dated translation of Galen was not until October, 1335, when he dedicated to Robert his rendition of *De passionibus uniscuiusque particule* (in ten tractates), of which text the Byzantine Emperor

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[6] *Ibid.* for several translations by Peter of Abano which were duplicated by Niccolo.

[7] Charles Martel, King of Hungary and originally the oldest son of Charles II of Sicily, had died in 1295, and the second son, Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, passed away in 1297. Robert succeeded Charles Martel as Duke of Calabria and was made Vicar General of Sicily in 1299.

[8] Lo Parco 257-258.

[9] Lo Parco 258-259.

[10] See number 23 below. "Scripta Neapoli 1314" may be the date of copying rather than of composition. Lo Parco noted neither date nor MS.

[11] Salvatore de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana,* III, 336; Lo Parco 261-262.

Andronicus had sent a copy to King Robert.[12] In 1341 are dated translations of four works of Galen: *De historia philosophorum,* April 9; *De subfiguratione empirica* in May; *De virtute centauree* and *De tyriaca.* The last recorded translation by Niccolò is of *De disnia,* completed on July 22, 1345.

Not merely were various manuscripts and editions containing Niccolò's translations unknown to Lo Parco, he did not exhaust or make full use of those known to him. For example, he had not seen the first manuscript that he mentioned and from which he listed the largest number of treatises, Latin MS. 6865 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (henceforth cited as BN 6865). He depended for his information concerning it upon a M. Cochin, and his account of it is in consequence confusing and incomplete. Of its fifty items he recognized only fourteen as translated by Niccolò, whereas it contains some thirty-two of his translations. Because at fol. 93 there began a translation by William of Moerbeke, Lo Parco or his informant jumped to the conclusion that most of Niccolò's versions preceded fol. 93 and so listed as his only one that occurred later, *De subtiliante dieta* at fols. 191-193. Even before fol. 93 Lo Parco failed to recognize *De bona habitudine* or *De euechia* (not *Cucxia,* as in Tk 125) and *De optima constructione corporis* as translated by Niccolò. Lo Parco also held that BN 6865 contained no translation which could be dated later than 1322, and that therefore it was probable that Niccolò presented this very manuscript to Pope John XXII at Avignon in that year, and that in this way his translations came to the attention of Guy de Chauliac.[13] As a matter of fact, however, the manuscript contains *De disnia,* which Lo Parco himself repeatedly dated in 1345.[14] When we further take into consideration that Lo Parco gave neither foliation, incipits nor explicits for any of the treatises in BN 6865, but only brief titles, it becomes evident that we must make an entirely

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[12] Lo Parco 291-292. In MS. nouv. acq. 1365 of the Bibilothèque Nationale, Paris, the date is stated differently as March 27, 1336.

[13] Lo Parco 262-263, quoting *Cyrurgia Magistri Guidonis de Cauliaco* (Venice, 1513), Proemium: "In hoc tempore in Calabria Magister Nicolaus de Rhegio, in lingua greca et latina perfectissimus, libros Galeni translatavit et eos in Curia nobis transmisit, qui altioris et perfectioris styli videntur quam translatati de arabica lingua." *Transmisit* seems to me to indicate that Niccolô sent the translations from Naples or elsewhere to Avignon rather than that he presented them in person, as Lo Parco believed.

[14] Lo Parco 246, 267, 296.

new canvass of that manuscript's contents and their relation to the labors of Niccolò da Reggio as a translator.

Of the early printed editions of the works of Galen in Latin translation Lo Parco made no use of that of Venice, 1490, while from that of Pavia, 1515, he listed only twenty-three treatises as translated by Niccolò, whereas there seem to some thirty-nine such. His failure to recognize these was in some cases more or less excusable, because he was not in a position to compare incipits or did not know of other places, chiefly in manuscripts, where these translations were definitely attributed to Niccolò. In other cases there would appear to be no excuse, as when he listed the *Liber in quo inquirit an omnes particulae animalis quod foetatur fiant simul* from an edition of 1550 only, although it is equally present in that of 1515 (I, 141v). Or he failed to note *De febribus* in the edition of 1515, although he himself had recorded its ascription to Niccolò in Vatican Latin MS. 2376, and similarly *De subtiliante dieta*, which he had recognized as Niccolò's translation both in BN 6865 and in MS. Dresden Db 92-93.

We might notice further omissions by Lo Parco such as that, in his account of MS. Cesena, Bibliotheca Malatestiana sinis. Plut. V, cod. 4, he overlooked *De tyriaca*, translated by Niccolò in 1341 and long since so recorded in the catalogue of Mucciolo.[15] But perhaps we have sufficiently illustrated Lo Parco's defects and unreliability. We must add, however, that he made no use of the monograph of Diels, to which we next turn.

Diels devoted nearly a hundred quarto pages to manuscripts of works of Galen but was primarily interested in those of the Greek text, and, while listing a wealth of Latin codices, did so in a lump without discriminating between different versions, his main concern being in illustrating the ancient Greek text and not in the process of medieval Latin translation. As a rule Diels gave Latin incipits only when no Greek original was available. Although he listed manuscripts of Latin translations both when there was a Greek text extant and when there was not, he only occasionally named the translator. Consequently, although he included practically all the Galenic treatises which Niccolò translated, he in

[15] J. M. Muccioli, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Malatestianae Caesenatis bibliothecae* (1780)), II, 36: "Expliciunt libri de tyriaca de virtutibus ipsius et utlitate a magistro Nicolao de Regio de greco in latinum translati anno Domini MCCCXLI."

many cases did not so identify them. For all he says, one manuscript may represent one Latin version of the Greek text and another a different translation of the same work. It is to the manuscripts themselves, and to a less extent to the early printed editions, that we must turn for evidence as to what treatises and which versions thereof were translated by Niccolò, and what the distinguishing incipits of his translations are. Diels did not have access to the 1490 and 1515 editions of Galen's *Opera* but refers instead to later Junta editions. In the main he cites the rare edition of 1528 from a copy at the Vatican. This I have been unable to see, and unfortunately in the later Junta editions of 1541, 1576 and 1586, which I have consulted, Niccolò's versions have in some cases been replaced by those of later translators.

Translations of thirty-six works of Galen by Niccolò are listed in the index to *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin.* Of the twenty others here mentioned ten were included in *A Catalogue of Incipits* but were not there ascribed to Niccolò as translator, and in some of these cases it is dubious if he was the translator. Of three others the incipits were subsequently noted in *Speculum;* in five cases I am unable to give the opening words; for the two remaining treatises the incipits are now given by me for the first time.

Of the more important manuscripts known to contain Niccolò's translations we may begin with Vatican Palatine Latin MS. 1211 (henceforth to be cited as VAp 1211), which was unknown to Diels and Lo Parco but utilized in *A Catalogue of Incipits.* It is a paper codex of perhaps the fourteenth century, written in double columns. After seventeen leaves filled with medicinal experiments of Benjamin the Jew, recipes of Niccolò da Santa Sofia, and the like, over fifty pages are devoted to the translations. Except for a translation of the *Regimen acutorum* of Hippocrates by "Master Raynaldus of Barcelona" (Arnald of Villanova?), all are of works attributed to Galen. Of these, apart from Stephen of Messina's translation of *De farmaciis* and an anonymous rendition of a dubious *Liber de animalibus et plantis,*[16] all are specifically ascribed

[16] It seems not quite the same as the *Liber de plantis,* ascribed to Galen, which was translated at Marseilles from Arabic into Latin by Grumerus, a judge of Piacenza, and Master Abraham the physician, was printed in the ninth Junta edition of 1609, VIII, Libri spurii, fols. 120-122, and is found in MS. Ashburnham 1448, ff. 109v-114v, of the Laurentian Library at Florence.

to Niccolò da Reggio. The remainder of the manuscript is occupied by such works as the *Anatomy* of Mundinus and *Speculum* and *Parabolae* of Arnald of Villanova. In all there are twenty-four treatises by Galen in this manuscript which are said to have been translated by Niccolò. Fourteen of these also occur in BN 6865, a membrane manuscript of the fourteenth century which is devoted almost entirely to Latin translations of Galen. Of its fifty titles four are ascribed to Hippocrates, but two of these are elsewhere attributed to Galen. On the other hand, a fifth is found assigned to Hippocrates in some manuscripts. In BN 6865 only seven treatises are specifically ascribed to Niccolò da Reggio as translator, but from other sources we may identify perhaps thirty-two of them as his.[17] VAp 1211 and BN 6865 between them contain some forty-two treatises or parts of treatises which in some connection or other have been attributed to Galen as author and Niccolò da Reggio as translator. We know of ten more such works from other manuscripts and of four more from old printed editions, making fifty-six titles in all. Two of these seem duplications: *De usu partium* for *De utilitate particularum*, and *De notitia virtutum simplicium pharmacorum* for *De simplici medicina*. In several other cases the ascription of the Latin version to Niccolò appears dubious.

A third manuscript containing a goodly number of Niccolò's translations of works of Galen is Dresden Db 32-33, which I have not seen. Judging from Diels, Lo Parco and the Dresden catalogue,[18] it appears to contain twenty-five of Niccolò's translations of Galen. Of these, eighteen duplicate items in BN 6865, while only six repeat treatises contained in VAp 1211, and of these last five occur also in BN 6865. Not only is the correspondence between Dresden Db 32-33 and BN 6865 much closer than that between the Dresden MS. and VAp 1211; it also is greater than that between BN 6865 and VAp 1211 — 18 out of 25 against 14 out of 24. Moreover, VAp 1211 has nine translations by Niccolò which are

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Possibly it is a combination of this with the work on occult medicinal virtues of animals attributed to Galen. Concerning both these works see my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 761-764.

[17] Two are by Burgundio of Pisa; one each by William of Moerbeke, Mark of Toledo, Stephen of Messina, Aresinus or Attalfus of Pistoia, and perhaps Peter of Abano. The dozen or so others do not seem to be by Niccolò.

[18] *Katalog der HSS. der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek (sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden)*, 4 vols. 1882, 1883, 1906, 1923.

not found in either of the other two MSS., whereas BN 6865 has but five such and the Dresden MS. six. This suggests how unfortunate it was that VAp 1211 was unknown to Diels and Lo Parco. The order in which the treatises occur in these three manuscripts is quite different in each case, and this holds true even for those items which any two of them have in common. The three therefore appear to have been written independently of one another.

The edition of Pavia, 1515, if we regard only those works in it which were translated by Niccolò, opens with three treatises not found in any of the three manuscript collections just mentioned, namely: *Historia philosophorum, Subfiguratio empirica,* and *De partibus artis.* Thereafter most of the translations by Niccolò which it includes are found in one or the other of the aforesaid three manuscripts but in a totally new order differing from any one of them. This edition brought together more of Niccolò's translations of Galen than any one manuscript did, some thirty-nine. The Junta edition of 1528 may have included more, but one cannot always tell from Diels whether it retained Niccolò's translation or had substituted another, as is the case in later Junta editions.

Vienna 2328 is a fourteenth century manuscript unnoticed by Diels and Lo Parco. It is more important for translations of works of Hippocrates than for those of works of Galen by Niccolò, but supplies a date in his career which was not known to Lo Parco. Its first item is the commentary of Galen on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates in the new translation, "translated from the beginning to the words, *tertiana vera,* by Burgundo of Pisa at Paris, and from *tertiana vera* to the close at Naples by Niccolò da Reggio, written at Naples in 1314." This is immediately followed by Niccolò's translation of *De nutrimento et nutribili,* a tract variously ascribed to Galen or Hippocrates, and then by Niccolò's translation of the Hippocratic *De lege* (which occurs also in BN 6865, f. 75va), by the Hippocratic *De usu pharmacorum*[19] and *Regimen acutorum* with Galen's commentary — for which two works no translator is named — and by Isaac of Toledo's translation of Hippocrates, *De aere, aqua et regionibus,* with which the manuscript ends.

In the case of the Munich manuscript, CLM 490, 1488-1503 A.D., ff. 7-155, Galeni opuscula, Lo Parco and Sabbadini whom

[19] Probably the Hippocratic work opening, "De pharmaciis autem cause ..." (Tk 180), rather than the *Liber pharmacorum* attributed to Galen which begins, "Secundum eandem causam videntur..." (Tk 656).

he followed noted only two translations of works of Galen by Niccolò da Reggio. They are in fact the only two definitely attributed to him in that manuscript, but it also includes the following treatises of which the Latin translation is elsewhere ascribed to Niccolò: *Medicorum introductorius sive de medicis introducendis, De virtutibus dispensantibus corpus nostrum, De optima constructione corporis, De euexia sive de bona habitudine, Quomodo oportet redarguere simulantes aegritudinem, De cura ictericiae, De marasmo, De inequali dyscrasia.*

We shall now proceed to take up Niccolò's translations one by one in the alphabetical order of their titles, omitting such neutral opening words as *De* and *Liber*. I have kept the titles employed in the manuscripts rather than those introduced in Kühn's modern edition and translation, although the latter course was followed by Diels. But Kühns' Latin titles are of no service in distinguishing one medieval Latin translation from another. As a rule I shall not repeat information already given by Diels, Lo Parco and *A Catalogue of Incipits* but merely cite them. A summary in the graphic form of a chart and an alphabetical index of incipits will complete our survey of the translations of works of Galen from the Greek by Niccolò da Reggio.

1. An omnis animalis quod fetatur particule fiant simul?

VAp 1211, ff. 64vb-65ra: "Liber Galieni an omnis animalis quod fetatur particule fiant simul. Utrum omnes simul eius quod fetatur .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

Diels 144; Lo Parco 300; Tk 758; I (1490), 111r; I (1515), 141v.

2. Anatomia matricis

VAp 1211, ff. 62vb-64vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de anathomia matricis secundum librum 15 de anathomicis circum[?] comunibus translatus a magistro Ni. De matrice est sermo et positione et magnitudine et figura eius ..."

Diels 68; Tk 177; I (1490), 161v-162v; I (1515), 51r.

3. Anatomia oculorum

VAp 1211, ff. 61vb-62vb: "Liber Galieni de anathomia oculorum. Quia oportet secundum amacionem distentie et utilitatem artis eos .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

Diels 129 and I (1528), 59v: "Quia oportet secundum amorem .../... et amationem boni signavimus"; Lo Parco 295; Tk 570; I (1490), 161r-v; I (1515), 50v-51r.

4. Aquis

VAp 1211, ff. 31vb-32ra: "Incipit liber Galieni de aquis translatus ab eodem" (i.e. Nicolaus de Regio). "Aptissimam aquam aptissimam esse congruit secundum gustum . . ."

BN 6865, f. 198ra-va: "Optimam aquam aptissimam esse congruit non secundum gustum solum . . ./. . . in foveis remanebit aque malitia."

Diels 132; Tk 49; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 358; I (1490), 139r-v; I (1515), 209v-210r.

5. Asuetudinibus

BN 6865, f. 73r: title from table of contents, "Liber de virtute consuetudinis"; incipit, "Curaturarum intentionum unam ab assuetudinibus . . ."

VAp 1298, ff. 214v-215v (quoted by Lo Parco 288): "Curaturarum intencionum unam ab asuetudinibus . . ./. . . et multitudinem acuantes. Explicit liber de asuetudinibus translatus a Nicolao de Regio Calabria."

Diels 119, "De consuetudinibus"; Lo Parco 282, 288, 296, 300; Tk 168; I (1515), 210-211.

Bona habitudine, see 18. Euechia

6. Causis contentivis

Ed. C. Kalbfleisch (Marburg, 1904), from BN 6865, f. 5, and Dresden Db 92-93, f. 443r: "Stoicos philosophos novi primos contentivam causam . . ./. . . auxilia quibus eas destruit assumit."
Diels 139; Lo Parco 282, 284; Tk 702.

7. Causis procatarticis

Ed. Kurt Bardong (1937), from BN 6865, f. 6, and Dresden Db 92-93, f. 445r: "Incipit liber Galieni de causis procatarticis. Antiqui quidem philosophorum iuvare studentes hominum genus . . ./. . . dicat videre nos nihil. Explicit liber Galieni de procatarticis translatus a Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

Diels 144; Lo Parco 282, 296, 300; Tk 48; eds. of 1490 and 1515. The Junta ed. of 1541, Cl. III, ff. 92v-97v, retains Niccolò's translation, but in that of 1586, Cl. III, ff. 95r-100, although the translation still purports to be by Niccolò, it opens and closes differently: "Naturales philosophi illi veteres . . ./. . . astruat nos nihil videre."

8. Causis respirationis

VAp 1211, f. 35rb-va: "Incipit libellus Galieni de causis respirandi. Respirationis causas sermo[?] preiacens ostendere . . ./. . . Explicit translatus a ma. Ny."

BN 6865, f. 124ra: "Respirationis causas preiacens sermo . . ."

Chartres 293, f. 118: "Respirationis causas preiacens sermo ostendere . . ."

Diels 70; Tk 626; I (1490), 53v-54r; I (1515), 161r.

9. Clisteribus (dubious)

BN 6865, ff. 175rb-177vb: "Conveniens et necessarium est homini volenti audire . . ." No translator named.

Diels 138; Lo Parco 282; Tk 120; H. Reich, *Die pseudogalenischen Schriften "de usu farmacorum" und "de clisteribus et colica,"* Leipzig Diss., 1921, 8 pp.

10. Comate

BN 6865, ff. 198vb-200rb: "Quid utique significat comatis nomen ab Ypocrate . . ." Niccolò is named as translator only in the editions.

Diels 83; Lo Parco 296; Tk 578; I (1490), 125v-126v; II (1515), 55r-56r.

11. Commoditatibus tyriace

VAp 1211, ff. 27vb-29rb: "Incipit liber Galieni de commoditatibus tyriace. Gignitur tyriaca ut pessimum quiddam . . ./. . . Explicit liber Galieni de commoditatibus tyriace translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria." But the following MSS., listed by Diels, have different incipits.

Cesena sinis. V, 4, f. 155; XXVI, 4, f. 108; XVII, 4: "Quod multa sit opponenda diligentia . . ./. . . conveniens esse mihi videtur hoc farmacum."

Dresden Db 92-93, f. 192vb: "Medici nominaverunt ea quibus curant . . ./. . . cum melle rosaceo quod sufficiat."

Florence, Laurentian, Gaddi 93, f. 118: "Trociscorum squillitticorum . . ."

Diels 122; Lo Parco 297; Tk 278; II (1515), 160.

Consuetudinibus, see 5. Asuetudinibus

12. Constitutione artis

Diels 60; Lo Parco 295; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 361a; I (1490), 111r-115v; I (1515), 15v-19v: Galen ad Pamphilum de constitutione artis medicative, translatus a Nicolao de Regio, opening. "Quia videris mihi, O Pamphile, divinam quendam . . ."

Cucxia, see 18. Euechia

13. Cura icteri

BN 6865, f. 80rb, "De cura icteri ["yctericie" in table of contents] interprete Nicolao de Regio. Ad yctericie curam prima quidem duo sunt maxima..."

Diels 151, "Ad icteri curam .../... et hoc est cura ictericorum," does not name Niccolò as translator; Lo Parco 282; Tk 19; I (1490), 166r-167r; II (1515), 294v-295r.

14. Dinamidiis (dubious)

Vatican Latin MS. 2378, 14th century, f. 227r-v (cited by Lo Parco): "Incipit liber Galeni de Diamidiis [*sic*] translatus a Nicholao de Regio de greco in latinum. Libellum quem roganti tibi promisi .../... et sanus transibis per omne etatis tue tempus nec medicis egibis."

Diels 139, gives the same incipit but a different explicit and lists MSS. some of which seem too early to be by Niccolò; Lo Parco 286; Tk 385 add other ascriptions for the work; Junta (1586), Cl. VII, Spurii libri, ff. 19r-35v, has the usual incipit, but yet a third explicit, "... et sine dubia liberabitur."

15. Disnia

BN 6865, f. 200v: "De difficultate respirationis libri tres translati a Nicolao de Regio, Calabro. Quoniam quidem disnia nocumentum quod dura existit..." In the table of contents the title is, "Liber de disinia [*sic*] sive de malicia hanelitus."

Cesena sinis V, 4, f. 155; XXVI, 4 (cited by Lo Parco): "Explicit liber Galeni de disnia translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de greco in latinum."

Diels 84-85; Lo Parco 290-291, 296; Tk 603; I (1490), 54r-58r; I (1515), 177-188: "Explicit liber de disnia in tribus tractatibus translatus de greco in latinum, etiam capitulatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria anno domini MCCCXLV die XX iulii XII indictione."

16. Dispensantibus corpus

VAp 1211, f. 35va-b: "Incipit liber Galieni de disponisantibus [*sic*] corpus nostrum virtutibus. De disponisantibus corpus virtutibus quot sint numero et que sint .../... et in hoc terminantur isti duo tractatus et plures precedentes secundum ordinem scripturarum translati a magistro Nycolao de Regio de Calabria."

BN 6865, f. 78v: "Liber de virtutibus dispensantibus corpus nostrum. De dispensantibus corpus nostrum virtutibus quot..."

Diels 140; Tk 173; I (1490), 46r; I (1515), 141v-142r.

17. Euchimia et cacochimia

VAp 1211, ff. 46ra-52r: "Incipit liber Galieni de euchimia et cacochimia. Annis non paucis convenienter [continuis?] facte . . ."; at f. 47va cap. 5 ends, ". . . sufficienter subducit ventrem," but at f. 48ra the treatise seems to continue in a different hand resembling that of the opening pages of the MS.; f. 52r, "Explicit translatus magistro Nicol."

BN 6865, ff. 186ra-191ra: "De euchymia et cacochymia sive de cibis boni et mali succi. Annis non paucis consequenter[?] facte pestilentie . . ."

Diels 77 cites Vatican Latin MS. 2396, f. 243v: "Continua serie non paucis annis . . ./. . . et longum tempus duravit"; Tk 44, "Annis non paucis quondam facte . . ."; I (1940), 143v-147r; I (1515), 206r-209r; ed. by K. Bardong (1937), not seen.

18. Euechia

VAp 1211, ff. 33vb-34rb: "Galieni de cucxia [*sic*]. Cucxos [*sic*] nomen quod habitum significet . . ./. . . Explicit translatus a magistro Nyco."

BN 6865, ff. 79v-80ra: "De bona habitudine. Exeos [*sic*] nomen quod habitum . . ." Title in table of contents, "Liber de euechia."

Diels 71; Tk 125, 252;

19. Facile acquisibilibus

VAp 1211, ff. 18ra-24ra: "Galienus ebabdianus Jasoni[?] ac archimedic . . . . . medico salutem. Quia petisti ut de facile acquisibilibus tibi . . . Salon dulcissime . . ./. . . Explicit liber Galieni de facile accessibilibus ad Sosonam [*sic*] archimedicum translatus de greco in latinum a magistro Nicolauo de Regio de Calabria. Nota quod in pluribus locis istius libri ponuntur multa que non sunt facile acquisibilia et translator non invenit ea in textu sed in margine posita[?]. Quia erant bona, posuit ea in textu, unde nota quod ubicumque invenitur tale signum in margine et correspondenter in lineis, est signum quod illud fuit inventum in margine libri proprii translatoris, quoniam ab eius principio usque ad illius scripture finem invenies tale signum unde sic noster Ihesus Christua videtur dominus benedictus." At ff. 71v-72v is a partial recurrence of the work: "Incipit liber Galieni de facile acquisibilibus ad alienus[?] et ad Solonem archimedicum dicens Soloni archimedico salutem. Quia petisti ut de facile acquisibilibus . . ."

Diels 99-100; Lo Parco 297; Tk 570; I (1490), 168r-171v; II (1515), 273r-286v.

20. Febribus (dubious)

Vatican Latin NS. 2376, 14th century, ff. 213-219v, 225v-232v (quoted by Lo Parco 286): "Quoniam quidem non solum communem universorum hominum naturam .../... non tedebit me scribendorum monumentorum singulum. Terapeutice de febribus liber secundus, noviter a Nicholao de Regio translatus ex Greco, explicit." Also at f. 219v: "Terapeutice de febribus ad Glauconem liber primus explicit, noviter a Nicholao de Regio Calabrio de greco in latinum translatus." This seems to be about the sole MS. where Niccolò da Reggio is named as translator.

BN 6865, ff. 154va-166rb: "Galeni therapeutice libri duo ad Glauconem. Quoniam quidem non solum communem universorum hominum naturam, O Glauco, scire oportet..." This incipit, however, is found in MS. Chartres 62, 10th century, ff. 16-37; in Cues 296, 14th century, ff. 6-9, is attributed to Constantinus Africanus, and in British Museum Royal MS. 12.E.XX, 12th century, ff. 33r-111v, to the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus. The ensuing text also opens differently in different MSS.

Diels 93-94; Lo Parco 286; Tk 603; II (1490), 445r-458v; II (1515), 172v-185r.

21. Flebothomia

BN 6865, ff. 166va-171vb: "His qui de flebotomia considerant..."

Diels 94-95; Lo Parco 287-288, 297, gives MSS. and ed. where Niccolò is named as translator; Tk 297, 313; II (1515), 160.

22. Formatione foetus

Diels 70, lists it as a different work from "An omnes animalis quod fetatur particule fiant simul" but give no incipit for the Latin translation by Niccolò.

23. Hippocratis Aphorismos, Commentarii in

Vienna 2328, 14th century, ff. 1-33: "Expliciunt commenta Galieni nove traductionis super librum Ypocratis Afforismorum translata a principio usque ad tertianam veram a Burgundione Pisano et a tertiana vera usque ad finem Neapoli a Nicolao de Regio scripta Neapoli 1314."

Diels 105-106.

24. Historia philosophorum

Diels 110; Lo Parco 294; I (1515), 3: "Explicit liber Galeni de historia philosophorum sive de dogmatibus translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria anno domini 1341 de mense aprilis in die nona."

25. Inequali discrasia

VAp 1211, ff. 53r-55r: "Incipit liber Galieni de inequali discrasia. Inequalis discrasia fit quidem et secundum totum animalis corpus .../... Explicit liber Galieni de inequali discrasia translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

BN 6865, f. 152va, although cited by Diels, has another title and incipit, and is not even attributed to Galen but marked "Anon.": "De malitia complexionis diverse. Malitia complexionis diverse quandoque..."

Diels 83-84; Tk 350; I (1515), 34v-39v.

26. Introductione medicorum

BN 6865, ff. 1-4: "Galeni introductio sive Medicus: pars maxima desideratur. Greci artium inventiones deorum infantibus attribuunt..." Niccolò is not named as translator, but the three following treatises are all his tranlations.

Diels 100-101; Lo Parco 282; Tk 281; I (1940), 10r; I (1515), 19v-21r.

27. Marasmo[20]

VAp 1095, 14-15th century, ff. 1ra-3vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de marasmone sive tabe. Tractatus primus de causis et modo generationis tabis et signis eiusdem. Capitulum primum de deffinitione marasmi et eius distinctione... Marasmus est corruptio viventis corporis in siccitate .../... Explicit liber G. de marasmo deo gratias translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de greco in latinum." The rest of this MS. to f. 147r contains earlier translations of Galen's works than those of Niccolò.

BN 6865, ff. 121ra-124ra: same incipit, no translator named.

Metz 178, 14th century, "Marasmus est viventis..." names Niccolò as translator.

Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin MS. 164, early 15th century, ff. 9-10: "Marasmus corrupcio viventis..."

Diels 83; Tk 400.

28. Motibus dubiis

VAp 1211, ff. 57vb-61vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de motibus dubiis pulcherrimus. Dubios motus vocant qui vacant circa.../...

[20] A MS. at Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 56, 14th century, ff. 52-55, contains a Tractatus de marasmo "secundum intencionem Galieni et aliorum, et fuit ordinatus per magistrum Bernardum de Gordonio," in eight chapters. Bernard Gordon flourished at Montpellier from 1283 to 1308, presumably too early to have used Niccolo's translation.

Explicit liber Galieni de motibus dubiis translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria." Tk 220 cites no other MS.

29. Notitia virtutum simplicium pharmacorum

Lo Parco 288-289 cites Vatican Urbino Latin MS. 248, 14-15th century, Galeni De notitia virtutum simplicium pharmacorum tractatus I-XI, Nicolao de Regio interprete. Primus inc. "Simplicium farmacorum virtutes certe scire quantum magnum commodum sit . . ." But Niccolò seems to have translated only the last six of the eleven books on medicinal simples (see number 40, Simplici medicina), so that the foregoing title and incipit are not his.

30. Nutrimento (Hippocratic?)

Rome, Bibl. Angelica MS. 1338 (T.4.3), 14th century, ff. 39v-40: "Incipit liber G. de nutrimento. Nutrimentum et nutrimenti species . . ./. . . Explicit liber Y. de nutrimento translatus de greco a Nicolao de Regio de Calabria, Amen."

BN 6865, ff. 117-118: "Hippocratis de nutrimento tr. Nicolao de Calabria. Nutrimentum et nutrimenti species unum et multa . . ."

Vienna 2328, 14th century, f. 33: De nutrimento et nutribili, interprete Nicolao de Regio de Calabria.

Diels 33; Lo Parco 289; Tk 452.

31. Optima constructione

VAp 1211, ff. 32rb-33vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de optima constructione corporis. Que est optima constructio corporis nostri . . ./ . . . Explicit translatus a m. Nyco."

BN 6865, f. 79ra, with same incipit.

Diels 71; Tk 551; I (1490), 46r-47r; I (1515), 39v-40v.

32. Optima doctrinatione (heresi, secta)

Diels 60; Lo Parco 294; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 364b; I (1490), 120v-121r; I (1515), 12v-13v: "Unumquodque medicinalium theorematum . . ./. . . Explicit liber Galeni de optima doctrinatione translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio. Cesena MS. dextr. XXV, 2, 13th century, is Burgundio of Pisa's translation.

33. Partibus artis

H. Schöne, *Galenus de partibus artis medicativae, eine verschollene griechische Schrift in Uebersetzung des* 14 *Jahrhunderts,* Festschrift d. Univ. Greisswald, 1911, knew of no extant MS. and accepted Niccolò as translator but not Galen au author.

Diels 137, "De partibus medicative, Juste dilectissime, convenienter .../... et deinde alia secundum prius dictam methodum adicere"; Lo Parco 294; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 351b, "De partibus artis medicative, Iuste dilectissime..."; I (1515), 15.

34. Passionibus mulierum

BN 6865, ff. 210va-211rb: "De gyneceis sive de passionibus mulierum. De passionibus mulierum et matricum utile previdi vobis scribere..."

Madrid Latin MS. 4234, ff. 12v-21: "Utile previdi vobis scribere .../... nec lavetur diebus septem." If the MS. is really of the thirteenth century, the translation is too early to be Niccolò's.

Diels 118, "De passionibus mulierum .../... cum vino calido bibat"; Lo Parco 297; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 365a; II (1515), 294: "Liber Galeni de gyneciis, hoc est de passionibus mulierum, translatus a Nicolao de Regio de Calabria de greco in latinum."

35. Passionibus uniuscuiusque particule

Cesena sinis. XXVII, 4, 14th century, ff. 3-59: "Ecce gloriossime Ierusalem et Sicilie rex Roberte librum Galieni de paxionibus uniuscuiusque particule... in x tractatibus .../... Explicit liber Galienni de decem tractatibus translatus a Nicolao de Regio in anno dimini 1335 de mense Octobris et scriptus per me Phebum de Pergula et completus sub anno domini 1392 die 17 mensis Aprilis hora 17." (Cited by Lo Parco).

Diels 97-98; Lo Parco 291-292; Tk 227 gives the same incipit for Niccolò's translation of Soranus, *De passionibus mulierum*; II (1515), 240. It is regrettable that none of the foregoing gave the opening words of the text itself, since a dedicatory preface may become detached from the text with which it belongs.

36. Pronosticatione

BN 6865, ff. 179va-185vb: "De prognosticari et prognosticatione sive de prenotione ad Epigenem" (in table of contents, "Liber de prognosticatione ad Epigenem"). "Aput plurimos quidem medicos impossibile est, Epigenes, precognoscere futuram..."

Diels 100; Lo Parco 296; Tk 50; I (1940), 73r; II (1515), 85r-86v: "Incipit liber pronosticorum sive de pronosticatione Galeni translatus a Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

37. Sanguisugis

VAp 1211, ff. 30vb-31rb: "Incipit libellus Galieni de sanguifugis [*sic*] antispasi ventositate et scarificatione translatus a magistro Ni. de Regio de Cala. Venantes quidem sanguifugas [*sic*] .../... Explicit iste libellus."

Diels 95; Lo Parco 297; Tk 766; I (1490), 125r; II (1515), 164v.

38. Sanativorum

Erfurt, Amplon. F.278, early 14th century, ff. 29-55: "Incipit liber primus sanativorum G. secundum novam translationem ... Ea que circa corpus hominis arte una existente .../... ea que ad inferos misione[?]. Hic est finis quinque librorum sanativorum G. translatorum de greco in latinum a Nicholao de Regio de Calabria."

Munich, MS. CLM 35, ff. 2-37: "Galeni sanativorum libri VI; libri I-V translati a Nicolao Rhegino, sextus a Burgundione."

Diels 75; Lo Parco 282.

Semine, see 43. Spermate.

39. Sequela

Diels 72; Lo Parco 296; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 361b, "Quoniam corporis complexionem sequuntur potentie anime ..."; I (1490), 117v-120v; I (1515), 153-156, "Explicit liber Galeni de sequela operationum anime ad complexionem corporis translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio Calabria. Qui liber etiam intitulatur de substantia virtutum animalium." Cf. 45. Substantia virtutum naturalium.

40. Simplici medicina, sex ultimi libri de

BN 6865, ff. 15-52: "De simplici medicina sex libri posteriores [in table of contents, "Sex particule ultimi libri de simplici medicina"]. Cum de simplicium farmacorum specie et virtute scribere cepimus ..."

Dresden Db 92-93, f. 396rb: "Secuntur sex ultimi libri de simplici medicina Galieni quos Nicholaus de Regio de greco in latinum transtulit diu post translationem quinque priorum per alium factam."

Diels 96-97; Lo Parco 282.

41. Simulantia egritudinum (Simulantibus egritudinem)

VAp 1211, f. 30rb-vb: "Incipit libellus Galieni de simulantia egritudinum. Propter multas rationes homines simulant se egrotare .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria."

BN 6865, f. 117r: "Quomodo deprehendere oportet eos qui egrotare se fingunt [in table of contents, "Liber quando oportet arguere simulantes egritudinem"]. Propter multas causas homines fingunt se egrotari ..."

Diels 109; Tk 533; I (1490), 138v; II (1515), 89r-v.

42. Somniis

VAp 1211, f. 32ra-b: "Incipit libellus Galieni de ea que ex somniis dignotione. Ut sompnum quod indicat nobis dispositiones corporis .../... Explicit translatus a M. Ny."

BN 6865, f. 124rb: "De somniis. Ut sompnum nobis indicat dispositiones corporis..."

Diels 77-78; Tk 249, 745.

43. Spermate

This title, rather than *De semine*, is used for Niccolò's translation, because Tommaso del Garbo, writing in the fourteenth century, says (*Summa medicinalis* I, v, 57, ed. of 1506, f. 57vb): "Opinio Galieni quam diffuse pertractat in suo *De spermate* translato per illum Nicholaum de Regio."

BN 6865, ff. 57r-66v: "De semine libri duo. Que est utilitas et virtus spermatis ..." "Liber de zagonia" in table of contents.

Diels 70 (146, "Sperma hominis descendit .../... terra vertitur in humiditatem" is an earlier translation): Lo Parco 282, De zagonia; Tk 551; I (1490), 147r-153r: I (1515), 132v-141v.

44. Subfiguratione empirica

Ed. Max Bonnet, Bonn, 1872: "Omnes medici qui colunt empiriam .../... de dissonantia eorum dictum est. Explicit liber Galeni qui dicitur subfiguratio empirica translatus a Nicolao de Regio de Calabria anno domini Mcccxli de mense Maii."

Diels 147; Lo Parco 294; Tk 461; ed. Venice, by Surianus, 1503, pp. 35-68; I (1515), 6.

45. Substantia virtutum naturalium (dubious: cf. 38. Sequela)

BN 6865, f. 117va-b: "Liber de substantia naturalium virtutum. Sicut quod animam habemus sciunt omnes homines videntes..." No translator named.

Diels 72; Lo Parco 283; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 363b; I (1490), 54v-46r; I (1515), 142r.

46. Subtiliante dieta

VAp 1211, ff. 41va-44rb: "Incipit liber Galieni de subtiliante dieta. Quoniam multe cronicarum egritudinum subtiliante indigent dieta .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nyco. de R. de Cal."

BN 6865, ff. 191rb-193vb: same incipit.

Diels 125; Lo Parco 282; Tk 598; I (1490), 141v-143v; I (1515), 204r-206r.

47. Temporibus paroxismorum seu periodorum

VAp 1211, ff. 36vb-39va: "Incipit liber Galieni de temporibus paroxismorum seu periodorum. Quale a tribus est que sunt etates .../... Explicit liber Galieni de temporibus paroxismorum translatus a magistro Ny."

BN 6865, ff. 70r-72v: "De temporibus periodorum interprete Nicolao de Regio. Quale naturalibus est que secundum etates..."

Chartres MS. 293, 14th century, f. 127: "De temporibus paroxismorum. Quale est de animalibus que sunt etates..."

Diels 129; Lo Parco 282; Tk 540.

48. Temporibus totius egritudinis

VAp 1211, ff. 39va-41va: "Incipit liber Galieni de temporibus totius egritudinis sive de temporibus universalibus. Totius egritudinis intelligimus tempora proportionaliter etatibus .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nico. de R. de C."

BN 6865, ff. 76-77: "De temporibus tocius morbi." Same incipit.

Diels 81; Tk 724: I (1490), 133v-134r; II (1515), 52r-53.

49. Tumoribus preter naturam

VAp 1211, ff. 55r-57vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de tumoribus preter naturam. Unum aliquid eorum que accidunt corporibus .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Cal."

BN 6865, ff. 54v-56: "Utrum aliquid eorum que accidunt corporibus..."

Vatican Latin 2378, 14th century, ff. 225v-227: "Unum aliquid aliorum .../... indicibilia derelicta sunt. Explicit liber Galeni de tumoribus preter naturam translatus a Nicholao de Regio de Calabria de greco in latinum."

Diels 83; Lo Parco 282; Tk 748.

50. Typo

VAp 1211, f. 36ra-vb: "Incipit liber Galieni de typo. Multis quidem magis ample de typorum speculatione .../... Explicit translatus et capitulatus a magistro Ny. de R. de Ca." Text in 5 chapters.

BN 6865, ff. 10v-14: "Incipit liber de typo translatus ab eodem [i.e. Niccolò da Reggio]. Multis demum latius de typorum speculatione..."

Diels 82; Lo Parco 282; Tk 418; I (1940(, 126v-127r; II (1515), 47v-48r.

51. Tyriaca ad Pamphilinum

VAp 1211, ff. 29rb-30rb: "Incipit liber Galieni ad Pamphilinum principem de tyriaca. Quia multotiens petisti, potentissime Pamphiline, methodum tyriace antidoti .../... Explicit tractatus Galieni ad Pamphilinum principem de tyriaca translatus a magistro Nicholao de Regio de Ca."

Cesena sinis. V, 4, 14th century: "Expliciunt libri de tyriaca de virtutibus ipsius et utilitate a magistro Nicolao de Regio de greco in latinum translati anno domini MCCCXLI."

Cesena sinis. XXVII, 4, f. 59: translator's preface, "Viro circumspecto et phisicali ac medicinali scientia redemito magistro Marcoloni de Mantua Nycholaus de Regio de Calabria medicus..."

Diels 99; Lo Parco 292; Tk 569; *Speculum* XVII (1942), 347a, 366b; I (1490), 108v-109v; II (1515), 158v, "Acquisitio istius antidoti copiosa est..."

52. Usu partium (dubious)

Ed. Basel, 1533: "Claudii Galeni Pergameni de usu partium corporis humani Nicolao Regio Calabro interprete. Quemadmodum animal quodvis unum esse dicitur..." (quoted by Lo Parco). I have seen only the sixth Junta ed. of 1586, Classis I, 113: "De usu partium libri xvii Nicolao Rhegino Calabro interprete, ab Augustino Gadaldino plerisque in locis mendis expurgati. Quemadmodum animal quodvis..." I doubt if this version is properly ascribed to Niccolò: cf. 53. Utilitate particularum, which appears to be his translation of the same work.

Lo Parco 298; Tk 553.

53. Utilitate particularum

Vatican Latin MS. 2380, 14th century, ff. 1-106v: "Sicut animalium singulum unum .../... illi igitur assimilavi sermonem hunc et nuncupationem eius traduxi. Explicit liber decimus septimus de utilitate particularum et per consequens totus liber universalis, cuius sunt decem et septem tractatus, translatus a Nicolao de Regio de Kalabria anno domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo septimo, die penultimo mensis Martii quintedecime indictionis." (Quoted by Lo Parco, who also gives at length Niccolò's preface from the ed. of 1515, in which he explains that there was an earlier translation from the Arabic which went only to the tenth book and was defective and incompetent in other respects. Diels lists many MSS. of this earlier version which opens, "Corpora animalium sunt instrumenta..." and also occurs in I (1490), 16r-32r; I (1515), 52r-67r.

Diels 68-69; Lo Parco 283, 287, 295; Tk 680; I (1515), 67r-131r.

54. Utilitate respirationis

BN 6865, ff. 67r-69v: "Que est utilitas respirationis quoniam quidem non cuicumque manifestum est..." No translator named, but in VA 2385, 14th century, ff. 162-167v, in a preface to Robert of Naples, Niccolò speaks of translating for him "libros Galieni duos, unum videlicet de flebotomia et alterum de utilitate respirationis..." (quoted by Lo Parco).

Diels 70; Lo Parco 282; Tk 551; I (1490), 51v-53v; I (1515), 159r-161r (not 59-61, as misprinted in *Isis* 33 (1942), 653, n. 27), where the translation is ascribed to Peter of Abano.

55. Vinis

VAp 1211, f. 31rb-vb: "Liber Galieni de vinis. Vinum aquosum nominant homines id quod .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Ni. de Regio de Calabria."

BN 6865, ff. 53v-54r: "Vinum aquosum nominant homines illud quod..."

Diels 147; Lo Parco 282; Tk 774; I (1490), 138v-139r; I (1515), 209v.

56. Virtute centauree

VAp 1211, ff. 34rb-35rb: "Incipit libellus Galieni ad Papyam de virtute centauree. Ego vidi, frater mi Papya, sicut Themisan [Themistius?] famosus magister de arnoglossa narrabat .../... Explicit translatus a magistro Ny. de Regio de Ca."

Lo Parco 286-287; Tk 232; I (1490), 159r-160r; II (1515), 158r-v.

Virtute consuetudinis, see Asuetudinibus

Zagonia, see Spermate

In the accompanying chart more extensive reference is made to manuscripts than in the foregoing text. Fuller detail may be had by refering to Diels, Lo Parco, *A Catalogue of Incipits* and the catalogues of the manuscript collections.

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THE EMPEROR MICHAEL III IN APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE[1]

In several studies Henri Grégoire has revealed and emphasized the deep impression left in popular tradition and in popular songs by Michael's successful military activities against the eastern Arabs. I wish now to show that not only Michael's successes in the East have left their trace in popular tradition, but also his victory in the north, over the Ros-Russians who in 860 for the first time attacked Constantinople. Here I have in view an apocryphal work known both in Byzantine and in Slavo-Russian literature, the so-called *Revelation of Methodius of Patara.* According to the best authority on this work, V. M. Istrin, there are three Greek versions of the *Revelation,* a brief Latin version, two Slavonic versions, and finally an interpolated Slavonic version.[2]

In Methodius' *Revelation* the whole history of the world, beginning with Adam and ending with the second Advent of Christ, is set within seven thousands of years. For us the most interesting period is the seventh thousand, particularly during this period an episode of the last Emperor-Liberator, who, at a moment of crisis awakes as if from sleep, and later delivers his Empire to God in Jerusalem. According to the three Greek versions of the *Revelation,* during the seventh thousand years, the Ishmaelites will come out and assemble in Gabaon, where many Greeks will fall at the point of their swords. Ishmaelite domination will be cruel. They will devastate Persia, Romania, Cilicia, Syria, and other regions, and in their pride they will say, "No Christians will escape our hands."[3]

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[1] I have included this study in my book, "The First Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860-861" (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1946).

[2] V. Istrin, *Revelation of Methodius of Patara and Apocryphal Visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavo-Russian literature* (*Čtenija v Obščestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskich* [Moscow, 1897], book II, III, IV; 1898, book I, 133-162 (Vision of Daniel). There are also an Armenian and a Syrian version of the *Revelation.* Istrin calls the three Greek versions one, three, and four. No text of version two appears in Istrin's edition.

[3] See Istrin's summary of this section of the *Revelation* in Russian, *op. cit.* (1897), II, 19-22. Γαβαών — Gibeon is an ancient city of Canaan, in Palestine.

Then suddenly an Emperor of the Greeks or Romans will rise upon them with great strength; he will wake as a man from sleep, who has drunk wine, whom men regarded as dead and worthless. He will march upon them from the Ethiopian sea and will inflict sword and devastation down to Ethrimbos, that is to say down to their own fatherland.[4] His yoke will be seven times heavier than that of the Ishmaelites. Then after his victories wonderful fertility will spread over the earth; and all men will live in peace. The Greeks will rebuild cities, and the priests will be released from violence.[5] But during this peace a disaster will befall them. Then the gates of the north will open, and the forces of the peoples who have been shut within will emerge. The whole earth will be shocked by their appearance; men will be frightened and will flee away and hide themselves upon mountains, in caves and tombs. For the peoples coming from the north eat human flesh and drink blood of animals like water and eat unclean things.[6]! But after seven years, when they have captured the city of Ioppe, the Lord God will send one of his Archistrategi and smite them in a moment. Then the Greek Emperor will come to Jerusalem, and ten years and a half after his coming the Antichrist will be born.

The same story is told in the third and fourth Greek versions (1897, IV, 62-63; 72-73). But in the third version we read in addition that before marching on the Agarenes the Emperor will come out through the so-called Golden Gate,[7] and during three days he

[4] The first Greek version: τότε αἰφνιδίως ἐπαναστατήσεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων ἤτοι Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγάλου θυμοῦ καὶ ἐξυπνισθήσεται καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ ὕπνου καθὼς παὼν οἶνον, ὃν ἐλογίζοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡσεὶ νεκρὸν καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα, οὗτος ἐξελεύσεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης Αἰθιοπίων καὶ βάλλει ῥομφαίαν καὶ ἐρήμωσιν ἕως Ἔθριμβον ἤτοι εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν, *op, cit.*, IV, 40-41. Ethrimbos is of course the name of the city of Yathrib, in Arabia, later Medina. See for instance, *Theophanis Chronographia* (de Boor), I, 365: τοῦ Ἐθρίβου; also index p. 600: Ἔθριβος, ἡ μεγάλη Ἀραβία.

[5] καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐλευθερωθήσονται οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν αὐτῶν, *op. cit.* (1897), IV, 43 (first version).

[6] Τότε ἀνοιχθήσονται αἱ πύλαι τοῦ βορρᾶ καὶ ἐξελεύσονται αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἳ ἦσαν καθειργμένοι ἔνδοθεν, καὶ σαλευθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ θροήσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκφεύξονται καὶ κρύψουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι . . . τὰ γὰρ ἐρχόμενα ἔθνη ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἐσθίουσι σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνουσιν αἷμα θηρίων ὡς ὕδωρ καὶ ἐσθίουσι τὰ ἀκάθαρτα. *Op. cit.* (1897), IV, 44 (first version).

[7] ἐξελεύσεται διὰ τῆς πύλης λεγομένης Χρυσίου (p. 62). Through the Golden Gate the emperors made their official entries into Constantinople.

will worship and pray before the Lord God (p. 62). In the brief Latin version we have "Surget autem rex christianorum et proeliabit cum eis (Sarracenis) et occidet eos gladio . . . ita erit adventus Gog et Magog, et cum fuerit ita paxfi reserabuntur portae Caspiae in lateribus aquilonis . . ." (pp. 81-82). The text of the first and second Slavonic versions is identical with that of the first Greek version (1897, IV, 97-99; 112-113).

These texts fail to give the name of the Emperor-Liberator. But his characterization as a man who woke as if from sleep, who has drunk wine, and who was regarded as worthless, entirely coincides with the traditional picture of Michael III "the Drunkard," as it has been given in later Byzantine tradition, intentionally distorted. The story that in his victorious fight against the Arabs, he reached Yathrib-Medina, in Arabia, is doubtless an exaggeration; but it shows that Michael's war in the east was in reality unusually successful, and his brilliant victory gained over the Arabs at Poson in 863 has left in later popular tradition the legend that he reached the cradle of Muhammedanism in the depth of Arabia. The words of the *Revelation* that after the peace with the Arabs the Greeks will rebuild cities may reflect the historical fact of the restoration under Michael III of the walls of Nicaea and Ancyra. That the priests will be released from violence seems clearly a reference to the close of the iconoclastic period and the restoration of icon-veneration in 843. Finally the highly colored description of the abominable customs of the people who invaded the Empire from the north, and who are without doubt the Russians, may be compared with the description of the Russian invaders, as we have it in Photius' sermons on the Ros, especially the second. With an exaggeration like that of Michael's advance to Yathrib-Medina in Arabia, the *Revelation* also has the Russians capture the city of Ioppe, that is to say, the city of Jaffa in Palestine. The end of the *Revelation* story narrating the coming of the Greek Emperor to Jerusalem and the birth of Antichrist, is a pure legend, which was wide-spread in the Middle Ages.

If we turn now to the so-called interpolated Slavonic version of the *Revelation* of Methodius of Patara we find the name of the Emperor-Liberator: it was Michael. As early as about seventy-five year ago, in 1875, A. Vesclovski, who was acquainted with the Greek text of the *Revelation* and its interpolated Slavonic versions, showed that the latter included some fragments from other apocryphal texts, a part of the *Vision of Daniel* and a part of the *Vi-*

sion of Andrew the Simpleton. Veselovski writes that in comparison with older versions, the Russian interpolated versions of Methodius supply us with two new elements: they give the name of Michael as that of the Emperor-Liberator, and they mention that at the moment of danger Michael was not in Constantinople; he was absent, and an angel brought him from Rome. In his study Veselovski was inclined to identify Michael with the Emperor Michael Palaeologus, who in 1261 restored the Byzantine Empire; in the same study Veselovski compares Michael with Michaylik, who appears in the Ukrainian tale of *The Golden Gates.*[8] Five years later (in 1881) in his studies on South-Russian epics (*byliny*), Veselovski once more referred to the interpolated Russian version of the *Revelation of Methodius,* in which the Archangel Michael brought the Tsar Michael from Rome to Saint Sophia in Constantinople, and the Tsar defeated the Ishmaelites. Finally Veselovski points out that the episode of the northern peoples Gog and Magog, who in their destructive advance reach Jerusalem, is inserted from the *Life* of Saint Andrew the Simpleton. In the same study Veselovski compares the Emperor Michael with a Russian epic hero (*Bogatyr*) Michael Danilovich.[9] Michael III did not occur to Veselovski. The statement that the Emperor in the moment of danger was out of Constantinople suggested to him the Emperor-Liberator Michael VIII Palaeologus, who came to save Constantinople from without.

In the interpolated Slavonic version occurs the name of Michael as the Emperor-Liberator. We read: "And then an endless multitude will be destroyed by the Tsar Michael, and others will be driven away like cattle; the pagan Ishmaelites will be humiliated from fear of God, and they will bow before the Tsar Michael saying 'We are thy prisoners.' . . . Michael's reign will last thirty-three years, as in the days of Noah . . . and the Lord will order Michael to hide himself in an island in the sea; Michael will go on board a ship, and God will bring him by wind into an island in the sea and

[8] A. N. Veselovski, "Essays in the History of Christian Legend, II, Legend of a Returning Emperor," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (May, 1875), 48-130; esp. pp. 60-63; 77; 78-79 (in Russian). On this study see Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), II, 175, 177-178, 180-182.

[9] A. N. Veselovski, "South-Russian Epics (Byliny)," *Supplement (Priloženie)* to vol. XXXIX of the *Zapiski* of the Academy of Science, no. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1881), 3-60; on the *Revelation of Methodius* pp. 9-10. This study was reprinted with the same pagination in *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkago Jazyka i Slovesnosti* of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, t. XXII, no. 2 (1881). Both in Russian.

he will stay there till the fixed day; and God will open the western mountains, which Alexander of Macedon shut up. . . . And after Michael's reign, for lawlessness of those men, God will open the western mountains, and Gog, Magog, and Aneg (Anak) will spring out of them . . . and men coming from the north will start to eat human flesh and drink blood like water. . . ."[10]

Istrin is the first to identify the Michael of the Slavonic interpolated version of the *Revelation* and of some other Russian versions with Michael III. He writes:

"The most widely spread name of the Emperor-Victor, who in some texts appears as the last Tsar, is the name of Michael. . . . The spread of Michael's name may have been due to some historical fact, and the history of Byzantium may have given foundation for it. I am inclined to see the first stimulus to the popularity of the name of Michael in the Emperor Michael III, under whom the attack of Askold and Dir on Tsargrad occurred. Such an event as the siege of Tsargrad by the Russians, which has left its trace in written literature, undoubtedly could not help being reflected in the popular imagination. Photius' speech serves as a brilliant testimony of the importance of the event. One may notice some common traits between the historical Tsar Michael and the legendary Michael. Not to mention the fact that under the Emperor Michael III the domination of the Arabs came to its close, we may observe some details common to the two. According to legend, during the attack of the enemies the Tsar-Victor is hiding himself somewhere, in various versions in various ways; during the attack of Askold and Dir the Emperor Michael was not in the city; he was on an expedition against the Arabs in Cappadocia; and in Greek texts the Tsar will come from the east. In the *Vision of Andrew the Simpleton* the Tsar who will deliver his empire to God in Jerusalem comes out of Arabia. It is not essential that reality did not correspond to legend; to the popular fancy Michael who had concluded a peace, although not a very honorable one, with his enemies, appeared a victor who had delivered the city from barbarians. All the more this fancy might have been strengthened and the people might have looked upon Michael as upon a messenger of God, because the deliverance of Tsargrad from the enemy took place at a

[10] Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), IV, 123-126. The entire text of the interpolated version on pp. 115-131.

solemn church ceremony: the Patriarch carried along the walls of the capital the sacred garment of the Mother of God."[11]

I am myself not only inclined to share Istrin's speculations but I am absolutely sure that the *Revelation of Methodius of Patara* deals with Michael III and must serve as a new element in the rehabilitation of the name and brilliant military exploits of that undeservedly degraded Emperor, whose vindication has been so energetically proclaimed by Grégoire. Of course it is unfortunate that the Greek texts of the *Revelation* which are at present known to us fail to mention Michael's name. But it is not to be forgotten that we have no old Greek texts of the legend; if earlier versions of the legend had come down to us, they might have contained his name; the more so as, according to our best authorities on this question (A. Veselovski and Istrin), the legend of the Tsar Michael came to the Slavs by way of translation from Greek originals.[12]

Finally I wish to add one more detail, which in my opinion may serve as a decisive factor in this question. In the interpolated Slavonic version of the *Revelation,* as I have pointed out above, we read that the Lord commanded Michael to go to an island in the sea where he would stay till the fixed day (*do recennago dni*). What is the origin of the story of Michael's going to an island in the sea? In "the fixed or appointed day" of the *Revelation* I see the fatal day of Michael's murder. He was assassinated by Basil in the Palace of St. Mamas September 24, 867. Now, after S. J. Pargoire's *Study on St. Mamas,* we may say that the position of the suburb of St. Mamas, where the palace, the church, and a private Imperial hippodrome were located, has been definitely demonstrated: the suburb of St. Mamas was situated on the European shore of the Bosphorus, opposite to Scutari, at the modern Beshiktash.[13] But in Greek sources the location of St. Mamas is not exactly fixed, so that in historical literature it has been located in

[11] Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), II, 182-184.

[12] See Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), II, 182, 184, 205.

[13] S. J. Pargoire, "Le Saint-Mamas de Constantinople," *Transactions (Izvestiya)* of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, vol. IX, nos. 1-2 (1904), 302. Pargoire repeats the same conclusions in his paper read at a meeting of the Russian Archaeological Institute. J. Pargoire, "St. Mamas, le quartier russe de Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient,* XI (1908), 203-210.

various places, in Blachernae, on the Propontis, on the Euxine.[14] Two Greek sources, Theophanes Continuatus and Genesius, place the Church of St. Mamas on the Euxine and on the Propontis.[15] Probably in connection with the indications of Theophanes Continuatus and Genesius that the Church of St. Mamas was situated on the sea, on the Euxine or on the Propontis, the idea of an island made its appearance. We have an unexpected confirmation of this hypothesis in an Arab chronicle of Eutyches of Alexandria. Eutyches, or in Arabic Sa'id-ibn-Bitriq, a physician and historian, who was elected Patriarch of Alexandria in 933, died in 940. In his brief chronicle, which begins with the creation of the world, we read the following lines on Michael III and his favorite Basil: "There was a general whose name was Basil. And (Michael) put him at the head of all his generals and officials. And one day the Emperor Michael went for recreation to an island which was situated opposite to Constantinople, in the middle of the sea which is called Pontos. And the General, Basil, assaulted him and killed him in the church which was on the island."[16] If we compare Eutyches' island in the sea where Michael went for recreation and was assassinated with the island in the sea of the *Revelation* into which our Lord brought him and in which he stayed till the fixed or fatal day of his violent death, and if we take into account that the island in the sea in Eutyches' chronicle was the place of the recreation and death of Michael III, there is no doubt whatever that Michael of the *Revelation* means Michael III.

As we know, a part of the apocryphal composition *Daniel's Vision* has been incorporated in the interpolated Slavonic version of

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[14] See A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899), 90: the Hippodrome of St. Mamas was in Blachernae. Millingen gives also other opinions. A. Vogt, *Basile I* (Paris, 1908), 42: St. Mamas, on the seashore, on the other side of Constantinople.

[15] *Theoph. Cont.*, 197: τὸν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ ἀνεγηρμένον ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος. *Genesius*, 102: ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Προποντίδα παλατίοις περιφανέσιν, ἔνθα ναὸς τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος.

[16] *Contextio gemmarum, sive Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales.* Interprete Ed. Pocockio (Oxford, 1658), II, 462. New edition by L. Cheikho, *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, II (Beryti-Parisiis, 1909), 67, lines 2-5 *(Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores arabici.* Textus. Series tertia, tomi VI et VII). Pocock's Latin translation is reprinted in Migne, *P. G.*, CXI, col. 1139. I have given a Russian version of this passage in my book, *Byzantium and the Arabs during the Macedonian Dynasty* (St. Petersburg, 1902), supplement, p. 20.

the *Revelation of Methodius of Patara*. *Daniel's Vision* has come down to us in several Greek versions and in Slavonic versions as well.[17] Greek versions, like those of the *Revelation*, fail to give the name of Michael. One text calls the Emperor-Liberator who will defeat the Ishmaelites, John (Ἰωάννης), probably John Comnenus, whom four angels will bring to St. Sophia and there crown Emperor (p. 137. Mount Athos, Monastery Kutlumush, no. 217). Three Greek texts mention invasions from the north: in one version we read that "then will rise the peoples in the north, who never before waged war" (p. 140. Bodl. Library, *Cod. Barrocianus*, No. 145); the same manuscript relates that "a fight will arise from the northern side, and the people will roam about (περιπατήσει), and the coastland will suffer."[18] Then the third version says, "And after him another emperor from the north will rise, doing great foulness, much wrong, and great injustice."[19] It would be hazardous to conjecture that "another emperor" (ἕτερος βασιλεύς) hints at the Russian leader of the expedition against Constantinople, Askold. The last Greek version (Paris, Nat. Library, *Fonds grecs*, no. 1295), printed by Istrin (pp. 151-155), deals with the time of Manuel II Palaeologus and has no relation whatever to this study.

Slavonic versions of *Daniel's Vision* are interesting for us because they add the name of the Tsar Michael. His legend has been discussed above. It is not irrelevant to mention that a South Slavonic version puts *Solun'*, i.e., Salonika or Thessalonica, instead of Tsargrad, where the Emperor-Liberator, according to legends, was brought by the angels. Evidently a South Slavonic compiler of this version, applying the prophecies to the Bulgarian Empire, replaced Tsargrad by a name better known to him, *Solun'* (Salonika) which had been several times in Bulgarian hands.[20] So the Tsar-Victor of Slavonic and Russian legends is the Tsar Michael III, the last representative of the Amorian dynasty.[21]

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[17] Texts of *Daniel's Vision* in Istrin, Čteniya ... (1898), I, 133-162.

[18] Here is the text (*Cod. Barroc.* 145): καὶ αὐτὴ (μάχη) ἐκ νοτίου μέρους ἀναφανθήσεται καὶ τὸ ἔθνος περιπατήσει, καὶ πρὸ τούτου παράλια αὐτῆς οὐαί. (Istrin, pp. 142-143).

[19] Bodl. Library, *Cod. Canonicianus*, no. 19, s. XV: καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτὸν ἀναστήσεται ἕτερος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ ποιῶν ἀκαθαρσίας μεγάλας καὶ ἀδικίας πολλὰς καὶ ἀνομίας μεγάλας (Istrin, p. 147).

[20] Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), III, 262.

[21] Istrin, *op. cit.* (1897), III, 325.

Let us turn now to the *Life of Saint Andrew the Simpleton,* one of the most precious documents for the cultural history of Byzantium, of which a critical edition is badly needed.[22] The saint lived in the tenth century, and his *Life* was compiled by his confessor, a presbyter of Saint Sophia, Nicephorus. The former opinion that the saint lived in the fifth century under the Emperor Leo I (457-474) is to be discarded. The name *Leo* which occurs in the *Life* is that of the Emperor Leo VI (886-912). As I have noted above, A. Veselovski has shown that a part of the *Life of Saint Andrew* has been incorporated in the interpolated Slavonic version of the *Revelation* of Methodius of Patara. His prophecies are interesting for our study, especially one which, if I am not mistaken, has not been examined, and which unexpectedly gives decisive proof that it deals with the activities of Michael III and his successful fighting against Arabs and Russians.[23]

After saying that towards the end of the world the Lord would raise up an Emperor under whom prosperity would spread among all men, the author of the *Life* relates: "And after that (the Emperor) will turn his face to the Orient and humiliate the sons of Agar; for the Lord will be irate because of their blasphemy, and because their offspring is bitter like that of Sodom and Gomorrah.

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[22] Detailed information on Saint Andrew the Simpleton or the Fool may be found in "Commentarius praevius Conr. Janninghi Vitae S. Andreae Sali," in Migne, *P. G.,* CXI, Coll. 621-628 (reprinted from *Acta Sanctorum,* Maii die 28, t. VI). For brief information on Saint Andrew see Archbishop Sergius, *The Complete Liturgical Calendar (Menologion) of the Orient,* 2d ed. (Vladimir, 1901), II, 2, pp. 409-410. A. P. Rudakov, *Outlines of Byzantine Culture Based on Data from Greek Hagiography* (Moscow, 1917), 228. Both in Russian. On Saint Andrew the Simpleton there are two special studies, one in Russian, the other in English. Arch. Sergius' study was printed in the Russian magazine *Strannik,* Sept.-Dec., 1898, and separately as well. In English, Sara Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas the Fool for the Sake of Christ.* Munich Dissertation (Borna: Noske, 1910), pp. 135 and plate 1. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult these. But according to Paul Maas' brief review of Miss Murray's dissertation, it fails to give much new material, and the eschatological section of the *Life,* which particularly interests us in this study, has not been studied by the author, *Byz. Zeitschrift,* XXI (1912), 317-319.

[23] I use the edition of *Vita S. Andreae Sali* in Migne, *P. G.,* CXI, coll. 627-888. This is a reprint from *Acta Sanctorum, Maii* t. VI, Coll. 1-101, supplement. Some excerpts were published in A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 50-58. A complete Slavonic version in the *Collection of the Lives of Saints* by the Metropolitan Macarius, vol. III, under Oct. 2.

Therefore He will instigate and arouse the Emperor of the Romans against them, and he will annihilate them and will destroy their children by fire; and they, surrendered into his hands, will be given up to the most violent flame. And Illyricum will be again restored to the Roman Empire, and Egypt will bring its tribute. And he will put his hand upon the sea and will tame the fair peoples and will abase the enemies under his power; and his empire will last thirty-two years. . . ."[24]

In this passage of prophecy, absolutely unexpectedly we discover two historical facts: the restoration of Illyricum to the Empire, and the payment of tribute by Egypt to the Empire. In my opinion these two historical facts belong to the period of Michael III.

The province of Illyricum was for long an apple of discord between Byzantium and the Papacy. This question came to the fore again when Bulgaria was converted to Christianity and Pope Nicholas I in his claims of the rights of the See of Rome over Illyricum, met such stiff resistance from Michael III that he was forced to yield.[25] Saint Andrew's prophecy, then, is a repercussion of a historical fact connected with Michael's period.

Saint Andrew's prophecy that Egypt will bring tribute to the Empire is extremely interesting. In my opinion this refers to the appearance of a Byzantine fleet in 853 before Damietta at the mouth of the Nile, when the city was plundered and burned and its inhabitants hastily fled. Probably six years later a Byzantine fleet reappeared before Damietta and Pelusium (al-Farama). Egypt might well have paid money for deliverance, a sort of ran-

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[24] καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσεται πάλιν τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων, κομίσει δὲ καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος τὰ πάκτα αὐτῆς. Καὶ θήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἡμερώσει τὰ ξανθὰ γένη, καὶ ταπεινώσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ ἔσται τριάκοντα δύο ἔτη . . . (col. 856).

[25] See a very clear presentation of the question in Fr. Dvornik, *La lutte entre Byzance et Rome à propos de l'Illyricum au IXe siècle. Mélanges Charles Diehl,* I (Paris, 1930), 61-80; especially pp. 64-65. Also *Idem, Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), 265-267. The question of Illyricum had its continuation after the death of Michael III and Pope Nicholas I, and under Basil I in 870 Pope Hadrian II had a new rebuff. Dvornik, *op. cit.,* 269.

som. If it is true that these words of Saint Andrew's prophecy refer to the attack of Damietta and Pelusium—and I am certain that it is true—this statement has still greater value because it is the only Greek text which records this important event, all our information of the attack coming from Arabic sources which fail to mention any tribute paid to the Empire.

Since the words of Saint Andrew's prophecy have now been definitely attributed to Michael's time, the mention of "fair peoples" (τὰ ξανθὰ γένη) whom he will "tame" or vanquish may refer simply to the Russian attack of 860.[26]

I have devoted much space to the personality of Michael III; but it is high time now to show that our common stereotyped opinion of him and his activities should be reconsidered. It is not often that an emperor's activities leave so deep a trace in popular tradition as those of Michael III against the eastern Arabs, and—I may now say—against the Russians. I cannot go so far as Grégoire does in characterizing Michael as a genius. He was assassinated in 867 at the age of twenty-eight (he was born in 839), still quite a young man, who had not had time enough to develop and display whatever talents he may have had. He certainly possessed some highly undesirable qualities which have come down to us in the purposely distorted and exaggerated Macedonian tradition which doubtless was irreconcilably hostile to the memory of the last representative of the Amorian dynasty. But it must have had some foundation in fact, and it is clear that the imperial youth indulged himself to excess in his pleasures and dissipations, which after all is not unnatural for a young man invested with absolute power. But he had energy and initiative; and in addition —and this is probably more important—he managed to choose and keep near him very talented advisers and collaborators, like his uncle Bardas, his general Petronas, who was the hero of the decisive victory at Poson in 863, some other generals, and last but not

[26] It would not be irrelevant to mention here a curious translation of the Greek words τὰ ξανθὰ γένη or τὰ ξανθὰ μέρη in some Slavonic versions of apocryphal Greek texts. The Russian equivalent of the Greek adjective ξανθὸς is *rusy,* and later probably in the seventeenth century under the influence of political propaganda, the adjective *rusy* became *Russian,* and τὰ ξανθὰ γένη *the Russian peoples (Russian rody).* In some Slavonic versions instead of *rysye rody* (τὰ ξανθὰ γένη) we find *rysyje brady,* i.e., *blond beards,* as a result of confusion of the Greek word τὸ γένος — *race, people,* with τὸ γένειον — *beard.* See Istrin, *Čteniya* ... (1897), III, 267, 325.

least the powerful imposing figure of the Patriarch Photius. In popular tradition, in epic and in apocryphal writings, Michael's advisers and collaborators have vanished, and his own personality is the center around which are concentrated his military successes against the eastern Arabs and Russians.

A. A. Vasiliev

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THE RUS' IN THE CRIMEA AND THE RUSSO-BYZANTINE TREATY OF 945

It is generally admitted that in the tenth century the Russians controlled for some time part of the Crimea, in all probability, its eastern part. Crimean affairs are mentioned in the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 945.[1] In this treaty, as in some other Russian sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Crimea is called "The Land of Cherson" (*strana Korsunskaia*). According to the provisions of the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 971,[2] Prince Sviatoslav abandoned his claims on the Crimea, which proves that, prior to 971, he made such claims. In fact, from the "Notes of the Gothic Toparch" it is known that in 962 Sviatoslav was recognized as the protector of at least one part of the Crimea, to wit, Gothia.[3]

The treaty of 971 definitely marks the end of the Russian control of the Crimea. The beginnings and the growth of this control remain in darkness. In any attempt to elucidate the problem, its student faces a series of complex questions, and, at that, he is handicapped by the scarcity and the fragmentary nature of the sources available. And yet, the problem is of great importance for an adequate interpretation of certain phases of both Byzantine and Russian history, and even a tentative solution may be of some help for workers in the field of Byzantino-Russian studies.

The forebears of the Russians must have penetrated the Crimea long before the tenth century, at the time when the Eastern Slavs were still partly under the authority of the Alans. As I have

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[1] The text of the Russo-Byzantine treaty of 945 is inserted in the so-called "Book of Annals" *(Povest' Vremennykh Let),* Laurentian version, *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei,* Vol. I, Fasc. 1 (2d ed., Leningrad, 1926), cols. 46-53; Hypatian version, *P.S.R.L.,* Vol. II, Fasc. 1 (3rd ed., Petrograd, 1923), cols. 37-43; see also M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, *Khristomatiia po istorii russkogo prava,* I (6th ed., St. Petersburg and Kiev, 1908), 8-16; English translation, S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), 159-163 (subsequently quoted as Cross).

[2] *P.S.R.L.,* I, 1, cols. 72-73; II, 1, cols. 61-62; Vladimirsky-Budanov, I, 17; Cross, 176-177.

[3] A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), 126.

tried to show in my *Ancient Russia,* the Antes—one of the strongest Slavic tribes of the sixth century—must be considered Slavs politically organized by the Alans.[4] The very name, Antes, derives from As (or Ias), as the descendants of the Alans, the Ossetians, were still called in Russian chronicles. The name, *Rus',* is to be linked with the Iranian *Rukhs,* consider Rukhs-As or Rukhs-Alans (Roxolani).[5]

It is significant that we find the name, Antas (used in singular) in a Kerch inscription of the third century.[6] The name "As" occurs frequently in Crimean toponymics. The people of Hros, which name is obviously another form of Rukhs and *Rus',* is mentioned in the *Church History* attributed to Zacharias Rhetor (*ca* 555). According to this author, the Hros lived "north of the Caucasus," that is presumably somewhere in the Azov region, close to the Crimea, if not partly in the Crimea itself.[7]

The political history of the Azov region including the eastern Crimea was, in the early Middle Ages, turbulent enough. First the Goths established themselves in that region (middle of the fourth century); then the Huns passed through it (late fourth century); in the second half of the sixth century the so-called "Western Turks" invaded the northern Caucasian area and some of their troops crossed the Strait of Kerch and threatened the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea. It is in that period that the foundation of Tmutorokan (Tamatarcha) on the eastern side of the strait of Kerch may be dated.

In the late seventh century the Khazar Kaganate—an outgrowth of the Caucasian state of the Western Turks—emerged as the paramount factor in the affairs of the Azov region. Finally, at a still later date, the Varangian *Rus'* enter the stage. The first mention of an active participation of the Russians in Crimean affairs occurs in the *Life of St. Stephen of Surozh.*[8] The Russian attack on

[4] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), 82, 83, 106, 107, 155-160 (subsequently quoted as *Ancient Russia*).

[5] *Ancient Russia,* 88, 107, 108.

[6] V. V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (St. Petersburg, 1885-1901), II, No. 29.

[7] *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor,* German translation by K. Ahrens and G. Krueger (Leipzig, 1899), 253.- cf. A. P. Diakonov, "Izvestiia Psevdo-Zacharii o drevnikh slavianakh," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii,* IV (1939), 86-87.

[8] V. G. Vasilievsky, *Trudy,* III, 72-76 (Greek text) and 77-98 (Slavonic text).

Sugdea (Surozh) mentioned there, may be tentatively dated in the late eighth century. The evidence of the *Life of St. Stephen* has been admirably analysed by V. G. Vasilievsky.[9] Recently, G. DaCosta-Louillet has attempted to undermine the validity of the *Life* as an historical source.[10] Simultaneously she has expressed her doubts of the authenticity of the *Life of St. George of Amastris*[11] on the evidence of which Vasilievsky admitted the probability of a Russian raid on Asia Minor around 840.

I am not at all convinced by DaCosta-Louillet's argument and, moreover, I believe that the Russian attacks on Sugdea and Amastris in the late eighth and early ninth centuries would fit admirably in the picture of the growth of the first Russian Kaganate.

For the study of this Kaganate, we have at least one firm point of support—the famous statement of the so-called *Bertinian Annals* concerning the arrival of the Russian envoys, in the wake of a Byzantine embassy, at Ingelheim in 839.[12] We thus know positively that in 838 the envoys of the Russian *kagan* visited Constantinople.

In addition to the *Bertinian Annals* there is one more mention of the Russian Kaganate in Western sources. In his letter to Emperor Basil I, dated in 871, King Louis the German mentions four rulers bearing the title of *kagan;* one of them is the *Chaganus Nortmannorum,*[12a] that is, obviously, of the Swedish *Rus'*.[13]

Unfortunately, the *Bertinian Annals* do not mention from where the Russian envoys came to Byzantium, in other words, where the capital of the Russian Kaganate was. A. A. Shakhmatov suggested that the center of the Kaganate was in Novgorod;[14] according to P. P. Smirnov, it must have been located somewhere in Russian "Mesopotamia," that is in the upper Volga—Oka region.[15] Neither

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[9] Vasilievsky, *Trudy,* III, CC VIII - CCLXXXVIII; see also N. P. Beliaev, "Rorik Iutlandskii i Riurik nachalnoi letopisi," *Seminarium Kondakovianum,* III (1929), 220.

[10] G. Da Costa-Louillet, "Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860?" *Byzantion,* XV (1941), 231-248.

[11] For the text of the *Life of St. George of Amastris* see Vasilievsky, *Trudy,* III, 1-71.

[12] Prudentius, *Annales* (ed. Pertz, *MGH, SS.*), I (1826), 434.

[12a] Cf. *Byzantion,* XV, 238; last publication in M.G.H., Epist. VII (Epist. Kar. Aevi, V), 338.

[13] See P. Smirnov, *Volž'kyi shliakh i starodavni Rusy* (Kiev, 1928), 135.

[14] In his *Drevneishie sud'by russkogo plemeni*: cf. *Byzantion,* XV, 237.

[15] P. Smirnov, *Volž'kyi shliakh,* 118-138.

hypothesis is acceptable, for the simple reason that the title of *kagan* could only have been acquired by the Russians from the Khazars, and consequently that Russian group the leader of which assumed the title of *kagan* must have established itself somewhere in the vicinity of the Khazars, that is somewhere in southeastern Russia.

In the Russian sources of the Kievan period the title of *kagan* is applied to three princes, Vladimir the Saint, Iaroslav the Wise, and Oleg Sviatoslavich.[16] It is significant that all three of them reigned in South Russia and, moreover, each of them was connected with the Azov region in one way or another. Thus, Vladimir conducted a campaign in the Crimea which terminated in the capture of Cherson (989), after which Vladimir visited eastern Crimea and, presumably, Tmutorokan as well.[17] Iaroslav was addressed as *kagan,* by the Metropolitan Hilarion, in the late part of his reign, that is after the death of his brother Mstislav, Prince of Tmutorokan and Chernigov (1036). Both these provinces came then under Iaroslav's authority. Oleg, son of Sviatoslav of Chernigov, had reigned in Tmutorokan before he succeeded in restoring Chernigov to himself and his clan. As we may see, in all of the three cases the acquisition of the title of *kagan* seems to have been connected with the possession of Tmutorokan.

From this, it may be inferred that the Russian *kagan* of 838 likewise was connected with Tmutorokan, and in any case he must have controlled southeastern Russia, that is the Azov region in the wider sense of the word. It is then with this region that the beginnings and the growth of the Russian Kaganate must be connected. The Kaganate might have originated in the late eighth or early ninth centuries.

As the title of the ruler of that group of the *Rus'* was obviously borrowed from the Khazars, we may assume that those *Rus'* were in close contact with the Khazars. They might have been at first

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[16] Both Vladimir and Iaroslav are referred to under the title of *kagan* by the Metropolitan Hilarion in his famous "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," *Pamiatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitelnoi literatury,* ed. A. Ponomarev, I (St. Petersburg, 1894), 70 and 76; Oleg Sviatoslavich is called *Kagan* in the "Lay of Igor's Campaign," *(Slovo o Polku Igoreve),* phototypic reproduction of the first edition, ed. M. Speransky (Moscow, 1920), 44.

[17] See G. Vernadsky, "The Status of the Russian Church during the First Half-Century following Vladimir's Conversion," *Slavonic and East European Review,* XX (1941), 300, 301.

subordinated to the Khazars and subsequently gained their independence. In my *Ancient Russia* I have collected some evidence to show that the *Rus'* who eventually founded their own Kaganate were of Swedish extraction; that these Swedes must have arrived in the Azov region about 740 and established their control over the neighboring Slavic and Alanic tribes, among others, over the As and the *Rus'*, which name they finally assumed.[18]

Crimea was, in the eighth and the ninth century, one of the danger-spots in the intricate diplomatic game between Byzantium and the Khazar Empire, either power attempting to protect and extend its sphere of influence. Since the Russians, as we think, were at first vassals of the Khazar kagan, and later on his rivals, they must have been drawn in the Crimean affairs at an early date.

Occupying as they did an intermediary position between Byzantium and the Khazars the Russians acted now as allies of the emperor, now as those of the kagan. In most cases they must have been guided by their own interests, however. Around 787, as we know from the *Life of St. John of Gothia,*[19] the Khazars occupied the main city of the Crimean Goths, Doras, and a Khazar governor (*tudun*) was appointed there. Presently an uprising took place at Doras against the Khazars. The latter succeeded in crushing it; but apparently not for long, since in the 790's the city was already under the rule of a Gothic official (*toparch*) responsible to the Byzantines.[20] It may be surmised that the retreat of the Khazars from Doras was the result of the cooperation between the Byzantines and the Russians. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the "ruler of Alania" was in a position to help the Empire to forestall Khazar attacks on both Cherson and Gothia,[21] and more probably than not it is the chieftain of the *Rus'* who is meant under the title of the "ruler of Alania" in Constantine's source.[22]

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[18] *Ancient Russia,* 265-275, 278-286.

[19] For the text of the *Life of St. John of Gothia* see Vasilievsky, *Trudy,* II, 396-400.

[20] A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea,* 91, 105; V. P. Babenchikov, "Iz istorii Krymskoi Gotii," *Izvestiia* of the *Gosudarstvennaia Akademiia Istorii Materialnoi Kultury,* CXVII (1935), 147-152.

[21] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando Imperii,* Chs. 10 and 11, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* 113, cols. 177-179.

[22] See *Ancient Russia,* 286. At the time I presented my argument concerning "the ruler of Alania" I did not realize that long before me N. P.

The Russian attack on Sugdea, around 790, may have been connected with the events in Doras. At the time of the Russian attack Sugdea (Surozh) was apparently controlled by the Khazars and not by the Byzantines. Thus, the Russian campaign against Surozh may be interpreted as an episode in the Byzantine-Khazar struggle.

The position of the Khazars was seriously undermined by their struggle against the Arabs. In 822 the Caliph Mamun started a powerful offensive against the Khazars. The latter were defeated and, according to Muqaddasi, the Khazar kagan was even compelled to accept Islam.[23] It is possibly at that juncture that the ruler of the *Rus'* assumed the title of Kagan, around 825.

The weakening of the Khazars and the strengthening of the Russians could not pass unnoticed by the Byzantine diplomats. The Russians were now becoming more dangerous than the Khazars. Consequently, Byzantium made an agreement with the Khazars against the Russians, and the Byzantine engineers built for the Khazars the fortress of Sarkel, on the lower Don, to keep the Russians in check (around 835).[24] It must have been because of their desire to settle this conflict that the Russians sent their envoys to Constantinople in 838. The embassy brought no results, hence the Russian attacks against Amastris, around 840, and against Constantinople, in 860. Following the latter event, part of the Russians agreed to be baptized, and the first Russian bishopric was set up, presumably in Tmutorokan.[25]

To sum up the situation, the Russians, during the ninth century, failed either to destroy the Khazar Kaganate or to capture Constantinople, but were able to keep Tmutorokan which, presumably, served them as a base for their campaigns in the region of the Caspian Sea and Transcaucasia in 909-910 and 913-914, as well as for that of 943-944.

The latter campaign must be examined in connection with Prince Igor's Anatolian raid of 941 and his abortive expedition

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Lambin had already come to similar conclusions. See N. Lambin, "Tmutorokanskaia Rus," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia,* CLXXI (1874), 67-69.

[23] Muqaddasi, Russian translation by A. Harkavy, *Skazaniia musulmanskikh pisatelei o slavianakh i Russkikh* (St. Petersburgh, 1870), 282.

[24] A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea,* 108.

[25] G. Vernadsky, "The Status of the Russian Church," 296, 297.

against Constantinople of 944. It is only against this background that certain clauses of Igor's treaty with Byzantium (945) may properly be understood.

There is no information in the *Book of Annals* (*Povest' Vremennykh Let*) about Igor's policies from 920 to 941. Presumably this was a period of peace during which the Russians accumulated strength for further expeditions against both Anatolia and Transcaucasia. The *Book of Annals* describes only the Anatolian campaign (941); Arabic sources speak of the Russian campaign in Transcaucasia (943-944); Hebrew documents throw some light on the connection between the two.

Let us start with Igor's Anatolian campaign. Asia Minor was at that time a part of the Byzantine Empire. Igor's reasons for breaking with the Greeks are not known. Igor's naval expedition to Anatolia, in 941, was apparently a joint undertaking of the Kievan and Tmutorokan Russians. The "Letter of the Khazar Jew" mentions the name of "Halgu, King of the Russians" in connection with the Russian war against the Greeks and the subsequent "withdrawal" of the Russians to "Persia" (Transcaucasia).[26]

Halgu is obviously the same name as Oleg. Could not this Halgu, or Oleg, have been a son of Igor and an elder brother of Sviatoslav? Igor was brought up under the tutelage of the famous Oleg the Wise (Helgi Helgi), and it would seem natural that Igor's eldest son should receive the name of Igor's predecessor and protector. In any case Halgu of the Hebrew document could not have been king of the Kievan Russians since the Kievan throne was occupied by Igor himself. Therefore we may think that Halgu was the King, or *Kagan,* of the Tmutorokan Russians.

The Russians landed on the Anatolian shore of the Black Sea and plundered the Byzantine provinces of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, penetrating as far west as Nicomedia before the Byzantine generals had time to muster sufficient troops to repel the invaders. When the latter took to their ships, their flotilla was attacked by the Byzantine naval squadron and easily defeated by the use of the famous "Greek Fire."[27] It seems that while Igor himself re-

[26] P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-Khazarskaia Perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932), 120. See also I. Brutskus (J. Brutzkus), *Pismo Khazarskogo Evreia X veka* (Berlin, 1924); V. Moshin, "Khelgu khazarskogo dokumenta," *Slavia,* XV (1938), 191-200.

[27] Cross, 157-158.

turned to Kiev, the bulk of what remained of the Russian army went to Tmutorokan, from where, two years later, they undertook a campaign against Transcaucasia.

This time it was the rich city of Bardaa in Azerbaijan which proved to be the main objective of the Russian drive. Thus, the Russians in this case followed the path of the Savarti who attacked Bardaa between 750 and 760. According to my conjecture, the Savarti might have been Swedes.[28] The Russian campaign in Azerbaijan is described in details in the Arabic chronicle of Ibn-Miskawaih who lived in the late tenth and early eleventh century died around 103). Says Ibn-Miskawaih:[29]

"In this year [A.H. 332 — A.D. 943-44] the army of the nation called the Russians invaded Adharbaijan, where they attacked and seized Bardha'ah, taking its inhabitants captives. They are a mighty nation with vast frames and great courage. They know not defeat, nor does any of them turn his back till he slay or be slain."

When approaching the city the Russians issued the following proclamation: "There is no dispute between us on the matter of religion; we only desire the sovereignty; it is our duty to treat you well and yours to be loyal to us." Since, however, the city refused to capitulate, the Russians stormed it and ordered all the population to evacuate it within three days. Those who remained after that term either were slain or had to pay huge ransom.

Using Bardaa as their base the Russians plundered the country around it and amassed huge booty. They spent several months in Bardaa but eventually were surrounded and defeated by superior Moslem forces. Their commander was killed in battle. Finally, the remnants of the Russian army "made for the river Kur where the ships in which they had issued from their home were in readiness with their crews. They embarked and departed, and God saved the Moslems from them."

Now, in the Hebrew document quoted before it is said that King

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[28] *Ancient Russia,* 270-273.

[29] Ibn-Miskawaih, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and transl. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1920-1921), V, 67-74. See also A. V. Florovsky, "Izvestiia o drevnei Rusi arabskogo pisatelia Miskaveikhi," *Seminarium Kondakovianum,* I (1927), 175-186; A. I. Iakubovsky, "Ibn-Miskaveikh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik,* XXIV (1926), 63-92; V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam* (Oxford: Luzac & Co., 1937), 144, 398-400.

Halgu perished "in Persia" with most of his troops. Presumably then, the "commander" of the Russians mentioned in Ibn-Miskawaih's story was Halgu.

The disastrous result of the Transcaucasian campaign and the loss of his son, Oleg (if Halgu was his son), did not deter Igor from another attempt to strike at Byzantium. According to the *Book of Annals* Igor hired a band of Varangians "across the sea" (*i.e.* in Scandinavia) as well as a horde of Patzinaks to re-enforce his Kievan troops. Of Slavonic tribes, the Slovenians, the Krivichians, and the Tivertsi agreed to participate in the campaign.[30]

In the summer of 944 Igor's army reached the banks of the Danube River where they were met by the envoys of the Byzantine emperor who brought rich presents both to the Russian and the Patzinak chieftains and offered peace. Igor convoked his retinue *(druzhina)* for a war council. The memories of the devastating effect of the "Greek Fire" still haunted the Russian boyars, and the council voted for accepting the Byzantine offer. Consequently a formal treaty of peace was signed in 945.

This treaty interests us here mainly because of its clauses bearing on the *Strana Korsunskaia,* that is, the Crimea (articles 8 and 11, according to Vladimirsky Budanov's edition).[31]

Article 11 reads as follows: "Concerning the Black Bulgars who come and wage war against the Crimea, we [the Byzantine Emperors Roman, Constantine, and Stephen] ask the Russian prince not to let them pass: they harm his land."

The question, who were the Black Bulgars, does not concern us here and we may disregard it. What is of great interest to us, is the motivation of the clause: the Emperors suggest that the Black Bulgars may ravage not only the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea, *i.e.,* the city of Cherson, but likewise the possessions of the Russian prince ("his land"), that is, presumably, the eastern part of the Crimea.

Let us now turn to Article 8. Its wording is rather obscure, and therefore I prefer to give its text in Russian original.[32]

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[30] Cross, 158, 159.

[31] J. Bromberg in his "Toponymical and Historical Miscellanies," *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 33-50, has attempted to prove that under the name of the "Land of Korsun" not the Crimea but the Dobrudja is meant. His hypothesis is not convincing.

[32] According to the Laurentian version, *P.S.R.L.,* I, 1, cols. 50, 51.

A o Korsunstêj stranê; eliko že est' gorodov na toj časti da ne imat' volosti kniaz' Ruskij, da vojuet' na têch stranach i ta strana ne pokarjaetsja vam; i togda ašče prosit voi u nas kniaz' Ruskij da vojuet', da dam emu, jeliko emu budet' trebê.

This article is usually interpreted as the promise, on the part of the Russian prince, not to attack the Crimea, in other words, as an abandonment of his claims on the Crimea.[33] In my opinion such an interpretation is decidedly wrong. I understand this article as the Emperors' promise to the Russian prince to help him with auxiliary troops in his struggle for the control of certain Crimean cities against a third party.

The following is the English translation of the article as I interpret it:

"And concerning the Crimea: in regard to the cities in that portion [of the Crimea] which the Russian prince does not possess and about which he wages war in those parts, if that country does not submit itself to you [the Russians]; then, if the Russian prince asks troops from us for waging the war, we will give them to him, as many as he needs."

Consequently, Article 8 of the Treaty of 945 should be considered an agreement between the Byzantine emperor and the Russian prince, according to which the emperor promises to support the prince in his struggle against a third party. That third party could only be the Khazars.

The question before us now is — who was the "Russian prince" mentioned in this article of the treaty as well as in article eleven?[34] It could not be Igor, because his title was "grand prince" *(velikikniaz')*. The title is mentioned in several articles of the treaty (1, 2, 16). However, according to article 1 of the treaty, the agreement was concluded not in the name of the "grand prince" alone, but in the name of "Igor, the Grand Prince of the Russians, and all of the princes, and all of the men of the Russian land." Each member of the princely family, including Igor's wife Olga, was represented by an envoy of his or her own. There are two other Russian women represented each by a special envoy: Sfandra, wife of Uleb (Gleb), and Peredslava. Could not Peredslava be the widow of Halgu (Oleg) of Tmutorokan?

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[33] See, for example, Vladimirsky-Budanov, *Khristomatiia,* I, 13.

[34] See N. D. Znoiko, "O pokhodakh Sviatoslava na vostok," *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.,* XVIII (1908), 280-282.

In any case, the Tmutorokan Russians must have been represented in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of the treaty, and it is probably the ruler of Tmutorokan who is meant under the title of the "Russian prince" in articles 8 and 11 of the treaty. Furthermore, from the contents of the treaty it is evident that in 945 the Russians (presumably the Tmutorokan *Rus'*) claimed a number of cities in the eastern Crimea and were prepared to protect them against the Khazars.

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[I am deeply indebted to my old and good friend George Vernadsky for his contribution to these *Mélanges*, of which our Brussels school—to which the beautiful and learned volume is offered—will be very proud. But the golden word *Amicus Plato*, and the rest, should not undergo *any* devaluation, even in these catastrophic times. Therefore I feel bound to state that I cannot accept, but must reject, certain statements and theses contained in this article. Here are my own views:

1) The names As and Antes have nothing in common.

2) The name of Tama-tarcha is not Turkish, but Greek (Τομή-τάρ(ι)χα), and the first element thereof, found in two passages of Theophanes and Nicephorus (Τομιν = Τομήν, cf. Tomi and Ρήγιον), is the purely Hellenic name of a harbour near Phanagoria, on the strait of Yeni-Kale; it has survived under the form of Taman (peninsula). Τάρ(ι)χα refers to the salted fish for which the place was famous.

3) "Rus" has nothing to do with the Rukhs-Alans or Roxolani.

4) "The people of Hros" is a non-entity. The name used by Zacharias and others is biblical.

5) The Life of St. Stephen of Surozh has absolutely no value, and cannot by any means be used as a source for events of the IXth Century. It is misleading to say that Mrs. DaCosta Louillet has "tried to undermine the validity of the Life as an historical source" or that she has "expressed her doubts of the authenticity of the life of St. George of Amastris." It is myself who, after re-reading the two *Lives*, came to the conclusion that Vasilievsky was utterly

mistaken in his interpretation. Miss daCosta Louillet undertook to check my opinion, which was found justified by every scholar who took the pains of re-considering the evidence. Vernadsky could not know, when he wrote his very interesting article, that A. A. Vasiliev himself, in his recent and *final* book on the *Norman attack on Constantinople in 860,* withdraws his former support of Vasilievsky's bold hypothesis, and concludes just as Miss DaCosta Louillet and I had done before, that there were no Norman (or "Rus") expeditions against Constantinople before 860, and that the two Lives containe merely an echo of the events of 941.

6) The whole story of the Tmutorakan Russian Khaganate, of Tmutorakan as the first Russian bishopric, etc., is, I am afraid, fantastic. There is not a shadow of evidence to support that fanciful construction, which seems to rest ultimately on the name of an Armenian bishopric. Μαστραβατζ was mistaken for Ταμάταρχα. See Honigmann in the forthcoming issue of *Byzantion,* XVII (1945). Vernadsky could not have known this article.

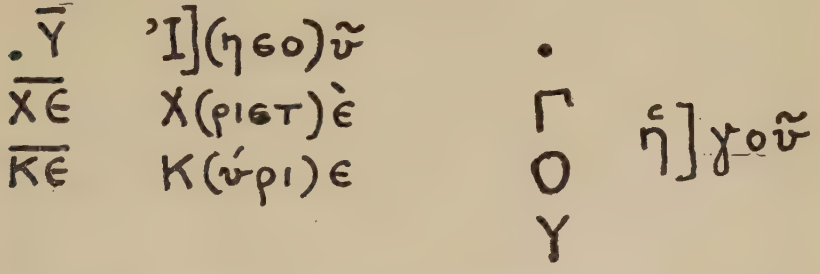
7) In the so-called *Anonymous Khazar document from Cambridge* we find a legendary account of the deeds of Igor, confused with his predecessor Oleg (Helgu). It is impossible to use such a document for historical purposes and still less to back the crumbling hypothesis of the Tmutorakan Khaganate.—H. G.]

AN UNPUBLISHED SEAL OF THE PATRIARCH IGNATIOS

Among the seals in the Collection of the Byzantine Institute in the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University is an unpublished lead seal of the Patriarch Ignatios. Ignatios twice occupied the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople: first from July 847 to October 858, and for the second time from November 867 to November 877. Son of the Emperor Michael I Rhangabe, his imperial birth, his renowned piety and the violent disturbances that shook the Church during his lifetime give an especial historical interest to this seal bearing his name.[1]

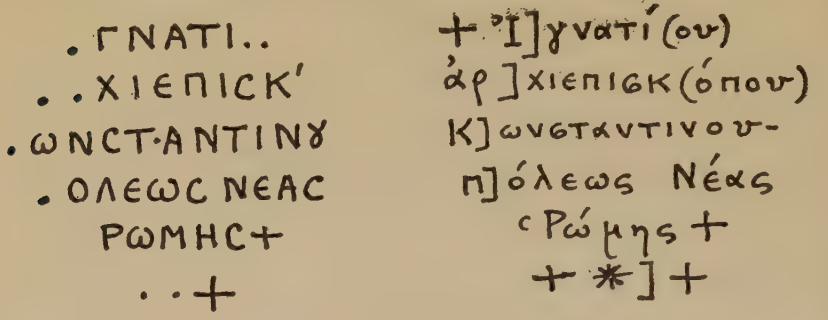
The diameter of the seal is 3.4 cm.; its thickness—0.2 cm. Its weight—26 gr. (See illustration pp. 112-113).

The obverse carries the bust of Christ blessing and in his left hand holding the book of the Gospels. The inscription runs in two columns:



[1] See articles dedicated to Ignatios in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* IX, 56 ff.; *Pravoslavnaja Bogoslovskaja Enciklopedija,* V, col. 785 f.; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* VII, 1, col. 713 f. Studies of his "Lives" and documents referring to him: Chr. Loparev, *Vizantijskija žitija svjatych VIII-IX rekov* (Petrograd, 1944), 99 f., and 265 f.; V. Grumel, *Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople,* I, 2 (Kadiköy, 1936), 64 ff. See also general works on History of Byzantium and of Byzantine Church in the IXth century: N. Jager (Paris, 1844), J. Hergenröther (Regensburg, 1867), A. Lebedev (Moscow, 1878, 1888, 1890), A. Vogt (Paris, 1908), F. Dvornik (Paris, 1926). A more complete bibliography and the most recent study of questions connected with the Church schism in which Ignatios played a part: F. Dvornik, "Le premier schisme de Photius," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare,* IX (1935), 301 ff.

"Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, lead."
On the reverse is an inscription in five lines:



"Ignatios, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome."

The letters of the reverse are more elongated and of a more distinguished form than those of the obverse and closely recall the upright uncial of contemporary monumental inscription as in the now destroyed Church of the Dormition in Nicaea (Iznik).[2]

The invocation of Christ $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{KE}}$ or $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XE}}$ is well known from other Byzantine seals,[3] the union, however, of both types was unknown in published sigillography and has, it is probable, a liturgical origin.[4] The genitive form of the name on the obverse is but conjectural: the dative is also possible. The reading ἡγοῦ seems to us to be more correct than ἅγου. The verb ἡγοῦμαι is used on a IX-Xth cc. seal in the National Museum of Athens: Λέων [ἡ]γοῦμαι, Χ(ριστὸ)ς ἔστω μου φύλαξ,[5] but in another sense than on the seal we publish, where it replaces the usual "preserve," "protect," "help," "save," etc.[6] In this respect the text must be com-

[2] Th. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), pl. XX, Cf. E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), 214, and W. H. Paine Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago, Illinois, 1939) pls. XLV-LXI.

[3] See G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 35.

[4] Cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), 14, 11-12; 24,22; 32,3; 40-11; 62,4; 341,17; 351,8; 392,32.

[5] K. M. Konstantopoulos, «Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου» (Athens, 1917), no. 253; cf. V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*. «Ἑλληνικά», V, 1 (1932), 138, n. 230.

[6] For these usual forms of invocation see K. Regling, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel," III, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIV, 1923/24, 103.

pared with metrical sigillographic inscriptions in which the traditional forms of petition are frequently replaced by other verbs.[7]

The representation of Christ on the obverse reproduces the principal features of an iconographical type, which appears before the Iconoclastic period on the coins of Justinian II (first reign: 685-695),[8] and again later, immediately after the restoration of icons, on the coins of Michael III (842-867),[9] as well as on the coins and seals of Basil I (867-886).[10] The only difference is that the cross against which the head of Christ is represented on these coins and seals is not inscribed in a circle, as on the seal of the Byzantine Institute and as was common in Christian art from the VIth century onwards.[11] Among the seals already published representation of Christ with a complete cruciform nimbus is not known before the X-XIth cc.[12] On coins it appears only with Constantine VII

[7] For example, δρόσιζε (Laurent, *op. cit.*, in «Ἑλληνικά», IV, 1, 200, no. 4 and 210, no. 40), λάτρευε (*ibid.*, V, 1, 137, no. 225), σύμπραττε (*ibid.*, V, 2, 401, no. 370), διευλύτου (*ibid.*, VI, 2, 218, no. 525), ἀσπίσαις (*ivid.*, VI, 2, 229, no. 561).

[8] W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908), II, pl. XXXVIII, 15 ff. (parallel with another type of Christ with short curly hair and a short beard).

[9] Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XLIX, 16-18.

[10] Coins: Wroth, *op. cit.*, II, pl. L, 10. Seals: N. Lichačev, "Nekotorye starejšie tipy pečati vizantijskich imperatorov," *Numizmatičeskij Sbornik*, I (Moscow, 1911), figs. 77-78, 82.

[11] See Marg. van Berchem et E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques chrétiennes du IVe au Xe siècle* (Genève, 1924), XLI; A. Kruecke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Strassburg, 1905), 78 *(Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, XXXV)*. The representation of the cross behind the head of Christ without an outline of the nimbus is known on seals belonging to private persons from the IXth to the XIth c. (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 105, 140, 185, 449, 541), on several ivories of the Xth c. (A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), pls. XXX, 77; XXXV, 91 and 92, a; XXXVII, 94; LII, 146, 147 /doubtful authenticity/, and 148), finally on the mosaics in the Chapel of San Zeno in the Church of Santa Prassede in Rome (IXth c., van Berchem-Clouzot, *op. cit.*, fig. 299) and in St. Sophia in Kiev (XIth c. "Drevnosti Rossijskago Gosudarstva," *Kievskij Sofijskij Sobor*, I-III (St. Petersburg, 1871), pl. 7, fig. 25). It is to be noted that on all these monuments Christ is represented half-length, mostly enclosed in a medallion which is a substitute for the contour of a nimbus. In view of this fact and as the earliest representations of this kind appear on coins, it is possible to assume that we have here a special "numismatic" type of Christ.

[12] Schlumberger ascribed to Basil I two seals with the representation of Christ with the full nimbus (*Sigillographie*, 419 and 421), still it is more prob-

reigning alone (945).[13] During this period, some changes may be noticed in the features of Christ. Lineaments become finer, hair thicker and more symmetrical. Beginning with the reign of John Tzimisces appears also the inscription "Emmanuel"[14] and a little later on one of the lead seals of the XIIth century—"Philanthropos."[15] We do not maintain, however, that we are here in the presence of a reproduction of a new icon. Against such a supposition is not only the use of two appellations—Emmanuel and Philanthropos—but the appearance of a complete cruciform nimbus on our seal, when all other distinctive features of Christ are similar to earlier representation. Thus, we may presume that in all mentioned examples we deal with an evolution of the same "numismatic" type of Christ, which took form before the Iconoclastic period. The seal of Ignatios represents a link between two periods of this evolution and so bears witness to the unbroken continuity of the series.

The molybdoboulon of the Byzantine Institute is not less important for sphragistic of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.

The nearest analogy is to be found in another seal of the same patriarch belonging to the Hermitage Collection and published by Lichacev.[16] In both cases the inscription on the reverse is identical not only in text and alinement, but also in palaeographic features. On the obverse of both seals is represented Christ, yet on the Hermitage example the figure is full-length and is accompanied

able that these seals belong to the reign of Basil II: see Lichačev, *Nek. star. tipy,* 535. We also consider it more correct to attribute to Basil II and Constantine VIII the seal with a similar bust which Schlumberger, *op. cit.,* 423, ascribed to Basil I and his son Constantine. Such attribution is confirmed by comparison with coins: see Wroth, *Catalogue,* II, pl. LVI, 1-8. On the contrary, the seal with the representation of Christ with a cruciform nimbus without the outline of the circle, which Schlumberger (*op. cit.,* 419) and Konstantopoulos (Βυζ. Μολ., 79, no. 279) attribute to the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII, belongs in reality to Basil I and his son.

[13] Wroth, *Catalogue,* II, pl. LIII, 7.

[14] *Ibidem,* II, pl. LV, 1 ff. On coins this inscription is found up to the reign of Isaac II Angelos (*ibid.* II, pl. LXXII, 7-9), on published seals up to Constantine Doucas (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie,* 423, Konstantopoulos, Βυζ. Μολ., 80, no. 281 and 311, nos. 281α-281γ.

[15] Schlumberger, *op. cit.,* p. 140.

[16] N. Lichačev, "Le sceau du patriarche Ignace," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales,* III (1935), 303 f. The seal was already known earlier, but the patriarch's name was wrongly read as Ninatos or Nicetas.

by the inscription: ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.[17] Lichacev compares this representation with the icon of Christ in the Chalce Palace which played a dramatic part in the Iconoclastic uprising.[18]

Both seals, the one of the Hermitage and that of the Collection at Harvard, differ considerably from all other patriarchal seals known to us, beginning with those of Photios, the successor and rival of Ignatios, who also twice occupied the Oecumenical Throne in the years 858-867 and 877-886.[19] The principal difference is on the obverse which usually represents not Christ but the Mother of God. We find the only exception in two seals of the Patriarch Alexios (1025-1043) on which is represented St. John the Baptist.[20] This may be reasonably explained by the close personal relation of Alexios to the Monastery of St. John of the Studion.[21] The inscriptions on the reverse of the seals of Alexios are still similar to those on the seals of the Patriarch Ignatios. On all subsequent seals, however, appears as an addition at the beginning of the inscription: ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ, and at the end: οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης. This title distinguishes Ignatios on one of the inscriptions found in Boeotia,[22] but is not met in sigillography before the second half of the XIth century.[23]

In this comment we are confronted with the problem of the re-

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[17] This inscription, like that on Byzantine Institute seal, seems to be of liturgical origin: see Brightman, *Liturgies,* 309,8; 310,16; 312,15, etc.

[18] *Le sceau du patr. Ignace,* 307.

[19] For seals of Byzantine patriarchs see Schlumberger, *Sigillographie,* 124-127; N. Lichačev, "Pečati patriarchov konstantinopol'skich," *Trudy Moskovskago Numizmatičeskago Obščestva,* II, 1901, 43 ff.; Regling, *Byz. Bleisiegel,* III, 104 ff.

[20] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie,* 126. The seal of Theodore Kouras with the representation of St. Theodore Stratelates, described by Mordtmann, belongs to the period preceding his election to the Patriarchal throne, and therefore does not enter the present study (Μολυβδόβουλλα, II. Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, VI (1873 /1871-2/), 111. Also outside this series is another seal described by Mordtmann with the image of St. John Chrysostom and with the legend ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσ[τα]ντινουπόλεως, for—as the editor himself points out—it is doubtful that this seal was patriarchal; moreover, it is not improbable that this seal is a forgery.

[21] He was Hegoumenos of this Monastery: see M. Gedeon, «Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες» (Constantinople, s.d.), 317 f.

[22] *CIG,* IV (Kirschhoff), 316, no. 8685.

[23] The first known instance is on the seal of Constantine III (1059-63): Regling, *Byz. Bleis.,* III, 104.

lationship of the two seals of Ignatios. Byzantine seals often show examples belonging to the same person but of different types. A striking instance of this variation is in the seals of Anna Comnena: two of these are adorned with iconographical motives, whereas on the third we read only the stereotype inscription stating that such representations were contrary to real piety.[24] Among the published seals of the Patriarchal See of Constantinople such divergence is unknown. Seals of the same patriarch may be, it is true of different size,[25] but always reproduce one and the same image and inscription. The existence of two iconographical types on the seals of Ignatios is an exception which cannot be attributed solely to the fancy of a die-sinker. We may venture to suppose that one of the seals belongs to the first period of Ignatios, between 847 and 858, and the other to the second period, 867-877, while it is impossible at present to establish with certainty which is the earlier. The absence of the representation of Christ in full-length on the coins of Michael III and Basil I gives us, however, a certain right to ascribe precedency to the Fogg Museum seal, which may, therefore, be considered the earliest example of a patriarchal seal of Byantium yet known.

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[24] J. Laurent in «Ἑλληνικά», IV, 1, 266, no. 106; IV, 2, 353, no. 200; VI, 1, 93, no. 462.

[25] This difference may be, for instance, observed on the above mentioned seals of the Patriarch Alexios Studites.

ΤΑ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΑΡΧΕΙΑ ΕΝ ΣΧΕΣΕΙ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ

Οὐδείς, καθόσον τοὐλάχιστον γνωρίζομεν, ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ ξένων ἱστορικῶν ἐχρησιμοποίησε, εἰς μελέτην του σχετικὴν μὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἱστορίαν, τὰ Ἀμερικανικὰ Ἀρχεῖα. Καὶ ὅμως τὰ Δημόσια Ἀρχεῖα τῶν Ἡνωμένων Πολιτειῶν, καίτοι ὑστεροῦν εἰς πλοῦτον ἀπὸ τὰ Ἀρχεῖα τῶν Μεγάλων Εὐρωπαϊκῶν χωρῶν παρουσιάζουν ἐν τούτοις διὰ τὸν μελετῶντα τὴν Ἱστορίαν μας, καὶ ἰδίως τὴν τῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, ὅλως ἰδιάζον ἐνδιαφέρον.

Ἐξηγοῦμαι. Ὁ μελετῶν τὰ Γαλλικά, ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποθέσει, Δημόσια Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Quai d'Orsay ἢ τῶν Archives Nationales καὶ ἰδίως τὴν πολιτικὴν καὶ προξενικὴν ἀλληλογραφίαν (χωρὶς νὰ λησμονῶμεν καὶ τὰ Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ναυτικῶν) διαπιστώνει ὅτι, καίτοι οἱ γράφοντες ἀναφέρουν γεγονότα τὰ ὁποῖα ἀμέσως ἢ ἐμμέσως περιῆλθον εἰς γνῶσίν των, ταὐτοχρόνως ὅμως εἰς τὰς σκέψεις των, ὑποδείξεις των καὶ ἑρμηνείας τῶν γεγονότων δὲν μένουν ἀνεπηρέαστοι — ὡς ἦτο ἄλλως τε φυσικώτατον — ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπίσημον τότε ἀπέναντι τῆς Ἑλλάδος πολιτικὴν τῆς Γαλλίας ἢ ἀπὸ τὰ θιγόμενα τυχὸν γαλλικὰ συμφέροντα.

Ἀντιθέτως, τὰ ἔγγραφα τὰ ὁποῖα ἐγράφησαν ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἀμερικανοὺς διπλωμάτας ἢ ἐπιτετραμμένους εἶναι, δυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν, τὰ πλέον ἀντικειμενικά. Ἡ Ἀμερική, ὡς μία ἐξωευρωπαϊκὴ Δύναμις, δὲν εἶχε ἄμεσα τότε συμφέροντα εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολικὴν Μεσόγειον καὶ τὴν Ἐγγὺς Ἀνατολήν. Καὶ οὕτω οἱ γράφοντες δὲν ἐπηρεάζονται ἀπὸ αὐτά, οὔτε ἐξ ἄλλου ἐνδιαφέρονται νὰ παρασιωπήσουν τὰς παρανόμους ἐνεργείας ἢ ἀδίκους ἐπεμβάσεις τῆς Α ἢ Β Εὐρωπαϊκῆς Δυνάμεως εἰς τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἐπιφυλαττόμενοι νὰ δημοσιεύσωμεν εἰς ἰδιαίτερον βιβλίον τὰ ἔγγραφα τὰ περιεχόμενα εἰς τὰ Δημόσια Ἀρχεῖα τῆς Washington τὰ σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἱστορίαν, παραθέτομεν ἐδῶ, ὡς δεῖγμα, ἕνα ἔγγραφον τοῦ 1825, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπέστειλεν ἐκ Σμύρνης ὁ τότε ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἀμερικανικῶν Ναυτικῶν Δυνάμεων τῆς Μεσογείου John Rodgers. Τὸ ἔγγραφον εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὰ Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ναυτικῶν (Office of Naval Records and Library) καὶ ἀποτελεῖ ἀκριβῶς τὴν 38ην ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ 6ου τόμου τῶν "Captains Letters."

Τὸ ἔγγραφον, ἐν πρωτοτύπῳ, ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

U.S. Ship North Carolina

Smyrna, 30th August, 1825

Sir:

I have to inform you that I arrived here on the 20th inst. with this ship, the Constitution Erie and Ontario, having on my passage touched at Tunis and the Island of Paros where I remained five days for the purpose of filling up the water of the Squadron and affording the officers an opportunity of examining the relics of Antiquity still to be met with in it and the adjacent islands of Anti-Paros, Delos and Naxia.

Judging from the flattering reception the Suadron has met with here by every class of people, from the Pacha down to the meanest individual, I am led to believe that our visit will be attended with much benefit to our commercial relations and at the same time be a means of producing the most favorable impressions concerning the strength and character of our Country and the justice, magnanimity and impartiality of its Government for notwithstandng almost every person of intelligence in the place seems to be acquainted with all that has been said in our public prints in abuse of their unrighteous war against the Greeks, yet they appear sensible of our disposition to act so far impartially as not to compromit our neutrality.

There is now stationed in the Archipelago an English, a French, an Austrian and a Dutch Squadron, belonging to each, of which there is one or more ships anchored in this Port. The Austrians have had in the course of the present summer (as I have been told by Com. Hambleton the Commander of the British Squadron) upwards of seventy sail of mercahnt vessels captured by the Greeks laden with stores and munitions of war for the Turks; he informed me at the same time, that he had just received instructions from the Lord of Admiralty not to protect from the Greeks British vessels that might be found similarly employed. The Austrian Government by its policy in permitting its merchant vessels to be engaged in the transportation of stores and even troops in the service of the Grand Seignor has brought up on itself the detestation of the Greeks and this too (from what I have heard) without gaining the good will of the Turks.

In relation to the Greek cause the British and French Commanders appear each to be pursuing a policy adverse to the supposed interest and wishes of the other Government and neither permits the other to know what he is doing or means to do, further than he can't avoid. The general impression here is that the British Commander has been instructed so to regulate his proceedings as to induce the Greek government formally to solicit the protection of England[1] and that the French Camamnder Rear-Admiral Rennier has been directed by his Government to pursue that course which he may consider the most likely to weaken the physical energies of the Greeks by producing distraction and disunion among them with the expectation, it is said, in the event of producing such a result, that the territory they now possess will fall an easy conquest to the viceroy of Egypt to whom it appears the Porte has guaranteed the occupation and possession of the Morea until the Viceroy shall have indemnised himself for all the expenses that may attend the conquest of it. It is currently reported here that the French Government has been in the habit for some time past of sending to the Viceroy of Egypt through the hands of Admiral Rennier presents of the most splendid and costly kind and that various compliments of a similar description have

[1] Ὁ ἴδιος John Rodgers, εἰς μεταγενεστέραν ἐπιστολήν του σταλεῖσαν ἐκ Γιβραλτὰρ τὴν 14 Ὀκτωβρίου 1825, γράφει ὅτι ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Μαυροκορδᾶτος τὸν ἐβεβαίωσε ὅτι τὰ ἀνωτέρω δὲν ἦσαν ἀκριβῆ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ ἐπιζήτησις τῆς προστασίας τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἀπετέλει αὐθόρμητον πρᾶξιν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως. Εἰς ἐρώτησιν δὲ τοῦ Rodgers ἐὰν φαντάζεται ὅτι θὰ ἐδέχετο τοῦτο ἡ Ἀγγλία, ὁ Μαυροκορδᾶτος ἀπήντησε — συνεχίζει ἡ ἐπιστολὴ — ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι πολὺ ἀμφίβολον.

been lavished upon Ebrahim Pascha his son, commanding the Egyptian fleet and Army in the Morea now employed against the Greeks.

It is impossible to say with certainty what France means by this crooked kind of procedure, but the most prevalent opinion is that she wishes to increase the power of the Viceroy of Egypt to an extent that will render him independant of the Ottoman Empire with a view ultimately of diminishing the wealth and power of England by depriving her of her East India possessions, and that this attention to the Viceroy of Egypt is meant as the first step toward paving the way for a continental expedition against her possessions in that quarter. From the policy that Austria is pursuing toward the Greeks it is thought by the best informed persons here, that an understanding exists between her and France; and that both are watching the movement of the British for the purpose of counteracting any measures they may adopt in relation to Greece.

The reports here respecting the various battles and rencontres between the Greeks and Turks in the course of present summer are so various and contradictory that it is impossible to come to the truth. It is pretty certain however, that the Greeks are in a worse condition than at the opening of the present campaign for notwithstanding the Turkish Army and Fleet that besieged Missolongi have been repulsed and the former with great loss still the Army of the Viceroy of Egypt (nominally under the command of Ebrahim Pasha, his son, but actually commanded by French generals) is in possession of the whole of the Morea with the exception of Napoli di Romania, or at least it is so in effect; for after besieging and taking Navarin it marched to Tripolitza almost without opposition and has there in the very center of the country established its headquarter. In consequence of the occupation of Tripolitza by Ebrahim Pasha, it is said, the Greeks of the Morea have very generally fled to the mountains and have become so disheartened at the superior skill shown by their enemies at Navarin in Tactics and Science of War; so dismayed, that even at the sound of their drums they are ready to fly. The Greeks have within the last ten days received a loan of £40,000 from England but not withstanding this, they will be unable to continue the war much longer, it is thought, without possessing a larger amount of funds than they are likely to obtain. The vessels composing their fleet are rapidly decaying and I had it from one of their agents that they would be unable to contend much longer at sea unless England or the United States furnished them vessels more efficient than those they now possess. Indeed from what I have seen myself and heard from others, I am induced to think their cause so desperate that nothing short of a miracle can sustain them much longer. In fine from what I have seen myself and what I have learned from those whose opportunities of obtaining correct information were better than my own, I have come to the conclusion that without the interposition of some one ore more of the European Powers, they will be unable to sustain themselves twelve months longer.

Some few of the American adventurers that came out here to their aid, had behaved well, but the greater part have done their cause no good; among the latter there is a Mr. Wm. J. Washington, who has passed himself off as the nephew of our venerated general; he is now under the protection of the French Admiral. The Greeks as well as the French appear to have

attached some importance to the name of this young man as will be seen by the enclosed proceedings of the Greek government and the protest of General Roche and himself.[2]

This foolish youngman who calls himself an expatriated American is permitting the French to make a tool of him and no excuse can be offered for his inconsistent conduct, unless he is insane and which many persons believe. The proceedings of the Greek Government and the protest of General Roche and himself I will thank you to send to the Secretary of State, as I have been frequently asked since my arrival in the quarter, whether Mr. Washington was not really an agent of our Government and which I have as often replied he positively was not either directly or indirectly.

. . . . . .

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

[Commodore] JOHN RODGERS

[Commander of the U.S. Naval Forces in the Mediterranean]

Ν. Γ. ΜΑΥΡΗΣ

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[2] Σὺνημμένη ὑπάρχει πράγματι γαλλιστὶ γραφεῖσα Διαμαρτυρία «Πρός τὰ Μέλη τῆς Ἐκτελεστικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς Προσωρινῆς Κυβερνήσεως τῆς Ἑλλάδος». Τὰ ἀρχικὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Washington φέρονται εἰς τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ταύτην ὡς W. F. καὶ ὄχι ὡς W. J. Πρόκειται, ὡς γνωστόν, διὰ τὸν ὡς ἀντιπρόσωπον τοῦ ἐν Ἡνωμέναις Πολιτείαις Φιλελληνικοῦ Κομμιτάτου παρουσιασθέντα ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Γουλιέλμον (καὶ ὄχι Γεώργιον, ὡς κακῶς πολλάκις ἀναφέρεται) Washington, ὅστις καὶ ἐφονεύθη ἐν Ναυπλίῳ τὸ 1827. Τὸ ἡμερολόγιον αὐτοῦ εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν Βιβλιοθήκην τῆς Βουλῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις.